



# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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## SOME NOTES ON THE NEW ACT

BY T. J. BENNETT, M.P.

I HAVE been asked to give the readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW my impressions of the Government of India Act. In the space allotted to me I can say but little. Its outstanding quality seems to me to be the courage with which, on the one hand, it has enlarged the political opportunities and liberties of the Indian people, and, on the other, has resisted the temptation to give way to a specious idealism. I have small patience with the people who in Parliament and in a subsidized Press tell us that the Act offers only a small instalment of reform, and that India must go on agitating for what they are pleased to consider the real article. India will have quite enough to do in the next decade in developing and educating an electorate, and in learning how to choose the best men for the Legislative Councils, just as the Councils themselves will have enough to do in developing a parliamentary spirit and parliamentary aptitudes, and in learning how to get the best work out of the men selected to serve it in the Ministries. If this is



realized by the Indians themselves the new policy will succeed, and it is in the belief that they will realize it that Parliament has determined on this great experiment. The time for arguing on the fundamentals of the question has gone. Political and administrative facts have now to take the place of arguments. We are no longer concerned with evidence as to whether or not the Brahmins and the intelligenzia in general are likely to subject the people to an oppressive oligarchy. The men who have the gift of leadership will have to show in practice that they are not out for the benefit of their own class, but for the good of the Commonwealth. What has been proved on evidence before the Joint Committee will now have to be indeniably proved by unselfish, honest, and capable administration by the new men who will be called to power. They know that they have been distrusted and condemned in advance, although Parliament has rejected the condemnation. They know that it will lie with them to prove that the more generous and truthful view which the British Parliament has so emphatically taken is the true one. They know, too, that while informed English opinion as a whole believes that the experiment embodied in the Act is wise and prudent, there is a school of publicists at home who will seize upon every failure, every indiscretion, every exhibition of a lack of political sense, as a proof of the inaptitude of Indians for self-government. The Act, as a great measure of constitutional government, is a triumph of the accommodating, practical spirit which has actuated the moderate school of Indian politicians. These men can to-day confront the extreme school with an accomplished fact. It will no longer be said that moderation does not pay in Indian politics. The contradiction of this is written large on the history of this great act of legislation. Nothing would more certainly tend to arrest the fuller evolution of self-government in India than the policy of factions who trust to agitation as a means to the capture of larger liberties rather than to steady and practical endeavours to make the

best use of the opportunities now open to Indian politicians. It is not by any means a case for the application of the old Whig maxim: "Rest and be thankful." The call is not to rest, but to work—to work for the fullest utilization of the advantages which have been freely and confidently placed in the hands of the Indian people.

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## THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT AND ITS CRITICS

BY SIR J. D. REES, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P.

THE only practicable method, as it seems to me, of dealing with the Government of India Act is to consider whether or not it carries out the announcement made in Parliament in 1917, and whether it does not go far enough, or goes too far, in that direction. I am often asked whether I approve of the Act, and how approval of the Act is consistent with opinions previously expressed in favour of the present method of government in India, and against its abolition. The answer seems to me to be very simple. Conditions in India have changed during and since the war—at least as much as in Europe—and one cannot fail to feel that the old order has been destroyed, and that the change has all been in the direction of the elevation of those who were previously in a more or less dependent, industrial, or other state, or in a more or less menial capacity. Nor is the change less great as regards the altered position of States forming parts of great empires, protectorates, dependencies, Crown colonies, etc. Many of these have acquired the position of practical independence before the war, others have almost reached it during the war; those who have done neither are impatiently awaiting their own emancipation or enfranchisement. Of what practical use is it to judge matters by pre-war standards? All the autocratic thrones of Europe are in the dust: the Habsburgs, Romanoffs, and Hohenzollerns are gone. Persia is governed by a limited Parliament; China is a republic. Of what avail is it to suggest that an autocratic bureau-

cracy can remain intact, especially at a time when the leaders of the British nation are protesting that they fought the war to make the world free for democracy, and when we have been teaching the Indians in our schools for a century that there is nothing like political liberty and democratic government.

I do not believe myself that the majority of the Indian Civil Servants will be found to maintain that a suitable advance in democracy can be avoided. It is not a question of what an individual desires, but of what the circumstances demand, and whether the Act fits into them. I think it does. Unfortunately, at some stage in the proceedings an amateur student appeared upon the scene with all the technological and other equipment of a student of constitutions, and it is to him, so far as I can make out, that the dreadful word "diarchy" is due.

There is really nothing in the least new or extraordinary about the division of functions between different ministers. It is done everywhere. The only thing that is new is making Indians ministers, and those who cry out against diarchy are really objecting to the transfer of functions to Indian ministers, and not to so obvious a proceeding as the division of portfolios between different members of the same Government. Of course, it is quite new in India that the ministers should be responsible to the Legislature and the Legislature to an electorate. But Parliament had already accepted these general lines in the declaration of 1917.

Objections are taken to the electorate in two quarters : one that it is too large, and empowers people who are too illiterate to exercise the franchise ; another who say it is too small, and represents chiefly the landed interests. Those who make the latter objection do not know that most of the landlords in India are quite small folk—the vast majority, indeed, correspond to the working men of the United Kingdom. Those who object that the electorate is too small fail to realize the fact that there was never in

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the history of the world so large an electorate created at one and the same time. I cannot myself share the objection raised to the present policy on the ground that it is likely to place power in the hands of an oligarchy, and I should suppose that oligarchy was a necessary and inevitable stage on the road from autocracy to self-government. It is a stage which in the United Kingdom lasted for a very long period, and a period during which Britain became great.

Again, the Brahmins are the natural leaders of the Hindus. Hinduism and Brahminism signify the same thing, and if it be objected that you might as well say that the peers were the natural leaders of the English people I would reply that the latter have been governed by the great governing families, and that they, who were mostly peers, have been, until quite recent times, the real leaders and governors of the British people.

The extraordinary importance and impartiality of the reforms to which the Act gives expression is evidenced, among other things, by the fact that the measure is equally obnoxious to extremists on both sides, and the only opposition in the House of Commons proceeded from the reactionary and the revolutionary elements. In the debate in the House of Lords, where reasonable opposition to the Act might have been most expected, very little was experienced. I do not think that any peer really roundly opposed the Act except Lord Sydenham, who has placed himself at the head of the malcontents. During the proceedings in Committee I devoted myself, amongst other things, to defending in particular the Brahmins and upper classes against misrepresentation of their true position as I understand it, and I do not myself believe the reservation of seats for non-Brahmins was necessary.

The Committee thought that it was best to retain the power of affirmative legislation for the local and central legislative councils without concealing or camouflaging the fact. Grave objections will be taken, it is said, when the

Governors act under the powers provided by the Act ; but the Committee expressly stated that they regarded these powers as part of the ordinary equipment of the Governors, to be used when required, and not to be regarded as exceptional in character. The Council of State has now frankly been made a second chamber, and as this change is coupled with another whereby the members will be directly elected by a separate constituency from that which elects the provincial Legislative Councils, it seems to me that the existence of the former body is likely to be very beneficial, and surely if any Government in the world deserves and requires a second chamber it would be that of India, which deals with so vast an area, so stupendous a population, and so many and so different thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, powers.

Criticism has been directed against the deputations that came over here, but it is a fact that such deputations as came to England in connection with this Act gave evidence of very great value, and many individuals of considerable eminence and distinction in India made their statements before the Committee. The acceptance by the Committee of the evidence of Mr. Tilak has aroused comment, but he tendered evidence, and it seems to me that the Committee was right to take it. All the proceedings had to conform to British parliamentary standards and British political practice. The fact may be deplored that Irish agitators are released for political purposes, and are consulted as regards reforms ; but can a wholly different standard be adopted as regards Mr. Tilak and India ? It is of no use now to say that different standards are applicable to India, and that everything must be measured by another rule. That is exactly what they will not have in India, and if I understand anything of the feelings of Parliament in this matter it is that that argument will no longer be accepted. A good deal passed muster in the first decade of this century when Lord Morley was Secretary of State for India, only because he was the most distinguished



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Radical of his day. Acts of the like nature will probably never be approved by Parliament again. I refer at the moment to deportations under certain circumstances, and to the conduct of local governors and military authorities in putting down riots and rebellions which will, no doubt, in future be very severely searched. Upon this score I should prefer to say nothing, as the Amritsar case is before a tribunal appointed to consider the questions arising from the suppression of the riots in that city last year.

On the whole, I think the Act is a very good Act, and many of those who at first blamed it now bless it. I hope and believe that it will allay political strife and discontent in India, and from all the information I receive from public and private sources there is much discontent and dissatisfaction to be removed.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL

By "DEWAN"

### I. THE PROPOSALS

INDIA is once again at the crossroads. During all her long, eventful history, in which many crises have arisen and died away, many systems of government have been followed, many shocks have disturbed the whole fabric of society, and many imperceptible changes have hardened into concrete and permanent forms, no time has been so big with import as the present. For the first time in history is an attempt to be made to establish the beginnings of an all-Indian Government, which is eventually destined—as its authors hope—to include Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, and the many other divergent racial subdivisions which constitute the peoples of India, in one undivided Government from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. The consequences of the attempt we cannot yet foresee, but of its magnitude there is no doubt. The future of the Indian Empire is in the melting-pot.

It were useless to discuss whether a new basis of government were necessary. The matter is all but accomplished, and must be accepted accordingly. At all events none can say after reading the Report presented to both Houses of Parliament that the scheme has not been carefully thought out. For the historical Preface we have nothing but admiration. The subject has been treated and considered with the widest reference to precedent conditions, and the events leading up to the present state of affairs and to modern aspects of Indian political thought have been carefully focused. Part I. of the Report is both

clear and illuminating, and no one should study the proposals which follow without first reading it.

The Morley-Minto Reforms have not proved altogether a failure; they and their application have given rise to much criticism, though little, it must be admitted, of a constructive nature, and they have been the means of bringing clearly forward what the various types of reformers ask for. Unfortunately, perhaps, in India there is no "public opinion," as the term is understood in Europe, and the so-called Indian opinion is chiefly that of sections of the people who talk most loudly. Thus they have proved that the system of recruitment of the Legislative Council has not been a happy one, and the Report shows how greatly the legal element among the people attained political ascendancy. Although measures to combat this tendency are to be undertaken, there is yet a great danger of the preponderance of legislators of the legal profession retaining their seats either in the Provincial or in the Indian Councils in the future. The political education of the electors will doubtless compel a remedy in time, but the process is bound to be slow. Whatever may be the eventual composition of the Councils, we must always expect to encounter a number of irreconcilables—some dangerous, but most merely wordy. The inclusion of the Congress League Scheme in the Report, and the necessary criticism made in considering its proposals, has the effect of showing how very little the authors know of the fundamental principles of good government according to modern ideas. It is not unlikely that a considerable number of members of the Congress League will find a seat in one or other of the proposed councils, and there is little doubt that the kindly official criticism of their scheme as made in the Report will have the effect of showing them on what lines their ideas have to be corrected or guided. It must not be forgotten that much of the political clamour of recent years has been the result of indulgence of, in many instances, an irresponsible press, and when a part is

given we must expect a continued and insistent demand for more. That is the Indian way.

The new proposals are admittedly only to cover the period of transition between the present form of government and a still farther advanced scheme of what is known as "responsible" government, and we cannot help wondering how long the period of transition will last. Doubtless that will depend upon the time taken to educate the people as a whole in politics, and it will take time for them to realize the value of the vote, and how best to use it collectively for their own good. This again will be considerably dependent on the efforts made to foster female education. Not that Indian women will be ready to take a part in the franchise for many years to come, but their eventual influence should be considerable, and it is probable that one result of the forthcoming reforms will be to advance the cause of the education of women, about which so much has been talked of late years, and so little, comparatively, has been done.

The main idea of the new proposals is that the welfare of the individual is to be the care of local bodies and Provincial Governments, and the State is to be the care of the Government of India. As regards the changes affecting municipalities and other purely local organizations there is little to say. The greater freedom allowed them of recent years has not been universally a success, and with the granting to them of still further immunity from direct official control we must expect to find them in many cases even less efficient in the performance of their duties. However, there is no reason why this should prove more than inconvenient. Mistakes will not be of a dangerous nature, and perhaps the experience of partial failure will be productive of profitable experience for those who seek to enter a larger political life through them. Far more important are the changes which are to affect the Provincial Governments. Theirs will be the principal task in giving effect to the new proposals, and for some years at least the

life of a Governor of a Province is likely to be analogous to that of the policeman in a once well-known song. His responsibilities will be enormously increased, and only the best men are likely to be equal to the task. The Government of India will not be affected to a like degree, and we may for all intents and purposes pass by the decisions made as regards parliamentary control and the Secretary of State. Important as they are, they are affected merely in principle, and what they do or do not do will have very little effect on the Indian people, either individually or collectively. We are not at all sure that the taking of a greater interest in Indian affairs by Parliament will be of value unless it is also intelligent. Irresponsible questions are likely to do far more harm than good, and it is unfortunately not possible to ensure for every Member an Indian education in India, without which it will be impossible for him to take an intelligent interest in matters either of internal movement or of individual concern.

The primary condition of government is finance, and this aspect is the first discussed in the Report. The financial changes appear to be all for the good, and Provincial Governments are to be given a free hand in dealing with their income and expenditure. The old scheme is to go "by the board," and Indian revenue is to be allocated as follows :—

Provincial Governments will control the income under the heads of (1) stamps (judicial), (2) excise, (3) land revenue, (4) possible loans (made through the Government of India so as to prevent competition in the open market), and (5) possible new taxes.

The Government of India, who will be primarily responsible for defence, will receive (1) stamps (general), (2) income tax, (3) fixed contributions from each Province, based on a percentage of difference between gross provincial revenue and expenditure, (4) possible interest on loans to Provincial Governments.

It is to be presumed that this division has been made

after consulting the necessary figures, showing what each source of revenue ordinarily yields, and what the average financial requirements of the Government of India are likely to be. The Provincial Governments, while taking land revenue, are also to be responsible for irrigation and famine relief, and in the latter case it is laid down that they will hold a portion of their resources, based on the average famine liabilities, in reserve, which should be added to annually, but not drawn upon except for famine purposes. Apparently provincial budgets will have to be sent to the Government of India for information, but the control of expenditure will remain entirely at the discretion of the Provincial Governments. The scheme appears to be preferable to the more complicated method at present followed, and it is likely to lessen considerably the burden of work in connection with finance at the headquarters of the Government of India. If there were no other reason, this would be sufficient to commend the change.

It has already been noticed that the principal changes will affect the Provincial Governments. They are to be entirely reconstituted. As before, they will consist of two parts—viz., Executive and Legislative. The executive governments will be composed as follows:

1. Executive Council consisting of the Governor, one English official, and one Indian (nominated by the Governor)

2. Ministers, consisting of one or two, chosen from the Legislative Council, and appointed during the duration of the latter.

3. Additional members, consisting of one, or two, English officials, without portfolio

For all practical purposes those composing the third category may be for the present left out of account, for their functions will be merely advisory. The Executive Council and the Ministers will divide the work of Government between them, and to this end the various items which it comprises will be divided under two heads, (a) Reserved

subjects being dealt with by the Governor-in-Council, and also the ex officio members of the Legislative Council, and (b) transferred subjects, which will be under the control of the Ministers and the Governor. It will be seen that the Governor is likely to have very little spare time.

He would be rash who would say that the scheme for executive government is doomed to failure. Its success or otherwise will largely depend upon the personality of the Governor, but in any case it is fundamentally weak. It is difficult, however, to see what other course could be adopted to cover the transition period. The task of governing has to be taught somehow and the granting of some measure of responsibility to Indian administrators is a necessary corollary. With the right men at the helm it has every chance of success, and it is gratifying to learn from a recent announcement in the press that a small measure of modification is being made by the Joint Select Committee on the Bill whereby the Governor's personal responsibility is to be in some measure relaxed by associating with him the advice of his official Council. An indifferent scheme of government is better than none at all, and in view of the fact that an advance of some sort had to be made to meet the clamour for a greater share by Indians in the administration of the country the proposals appear to be the only possible. Much speculation naturally centres on the question as to what are to compose the "transferred subjects". Of these secondary education is likely to be by far the most important. One thing is certain, and that is that once the scheme is brought into force the English members of the services in India will support Government wholeheartedly in endeavouring to make it successful. The positions of the Additional Members without portfolio is not likely to be greatly envied. They will draw only their substantive pay, and their work is likely to be chiefly in the nature of a 'watching brief'. The disabilities which they will suffer from with regard to having no vote will be considerable, and it is to be expected that there will be few desirous of

assuming the somewhat empty honour attached to the office. It would appear to have been a better policy to have enlisted the heads of departments of Government as advisors—at least for a time.

The legislative side of the Government is that in which the electorate will have the greater interest. The Legislative Council will come into being as the result of direct election on a broad franchise, with such communal and special representation as may be necessary. Communal representation will apply only to the Mahomedan and Sikh sections of the people, and special nomination will be made only in one or two cases—commercial communities, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and the Lingayats being presumably so represented.

The Council will thus be made up of five classes :

1. Elected members.
2. Communal members.
3. Nominated members.
4. Members of the Executive Council.
5. Official members.

(4) and (5) will not vote on transferred subjects. The Governor is to have power to dissolve the Legislative Council, and this will doubtless be a sufficient check to the introduction of controversial discussion or acrimonious debate.

There is one class of legislation which is specially provided for, that of Certified Bills, which will doubtless require careful handling. Should the Governor think it necessary that "a Bill dealing with a reserved subject is essential either for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquillity of the province, or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects," he will have power to introduce it, "certified" accordingly. The Bill and certificate will then be published in the Gazette. It will be introduced and read in the Legislative Council, and, after discussion on its general principles,



will be referred to a Grand Committee, which will comprise from 40 to 50 per cent of the Legislative Council, chosen partly by ballot and partly by election—not more than two-thirds of the nominated members to be officials. The Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer the Bill to the Government of India, whose decision will be final. The process is very cumbersome, and the position of a Governor whose Bill is not supported by the Government of India would leave him no option but to resign<sup>1</sup>. There is in this too much of the savour of parliamentary practice, which will never suit Indian conditions. It is bound to cause delay, and perhaps when the Bill is eventually passed the urgent need which occasioned its introduction may have gone. In fact the measure is framed too much to meet diversity of opinion rather than agreement.

The new measure affecting directly the Government of India are changes rather in form. In augmentation of the present Council of the Governor-General will be created a Council of State, which will have life for five years. It is to consist of fifty members, exclusive of the Viceroy, of which twenty-one will be elected from the Provinces—two each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, United Provinces, Punjab, and Behar and Orissa, and one each from Burma, Central Provinces, and Assam. The Mahomedans, Landed Classes, and Chambers of Commerce, will each be represented by two members. The nominated members will include twenty-five officials and four non-officials. The provincial members will be non-official, and will be elected from the Legislative Councils of their respective Provinces. The other side of the Government of India is to be termed the Legislative Assembly. Its life will be for three years and its President will be nominated by the Viceroy. It will consist of about one hundred members, of whom sixty-eight will be elected from the Provinces, eleven will be non-official and special nominations, and the remainder will comprise nominated officials, including the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The arrangements for legislation are far less complicated than in the case of the Provincial Governments, and the procedure regarding Bills is much more simple. The Governor-General will have power to dissolve either or both bodies, and the safeguards of his position appear to be adequate. We are told that "in the multitude of councillors there is wisdom, and the new arrangements will have ample scope for demonstrating the truth or otherwise of this dictum.

There remains one more important subject in the new proposals to be dealt with, and that is their application to the Native States. The war has shown—if such demonstration were necessary—how much the welfare of the States and of the English connection in India are interdependent. It would be idle to suppose that all the political agitation in British India has left the States unaffected. British policy with regard to them has been clearly enunciated over and over again, and the progress in development is constant, even if in some cases it may be slow. The proposal to inaugurate a Council of Princes is one which will find much favour with the Princes themselves. Lord Chelmsford has only recently announced the Government's intention to create such a chamber, as a permanent measure. It is too early yet to see how the announcement has been received by those most concerned, and it may be looked upon as the first measure of the new proposals to be carried into effect, although the idea is one which has been talked about for many years. Its doings will only concern itself and its order, and there can be no greater mistake than to consider it as being a House of Lords with no executive power, as one newspaper recently designated it. To the House of Lords it bears little or no analogy, and any measure which it may adopt will end at the boundaries of the State or States concerned. That it will operate for good there can be no doubt, for it will be a means of more direct "liaison" between the British Government and the Native Rulers than has hitherto been the case, while

fostering the Imperial idea, and maintaining the principle that the British Government and the Ruling Princes and Chiefs are mutually concerned in the welfare of the Indian Empire and in the *status quo*. The proposal in the Report that all States possessing full internal powers are to have direct relations with the Government of India will commend itself to the rulers of the States concerned, and it is to be hoped that the measures for bringing this and the remaining proposals regarding the Native States into effect will soon be accomplished.

Time alone can prove the value of the introduction of a greater number of Indians into the services, and of the granting of commissions to Indians in the Army, both of which are discussed by the authors of the Report. It will be some years before results in this direction can be judged. We have set our hand to the plough and cannot now turn back. The sooner all the proposals contained in the Report are made effective the better, and it is to be hoped that much time will not elapse before the subject is considered in Parliament. It is a year and a half since Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu signed the proposals, and nearly as long since the Report was published. Since then much has happened, and the restoration of peace-time conditions throughout the Empire makes it desirable that further delay should be reduced to a minimum. All valuable evidence must by now have been collected, and it would appear to be very inadvisable that the country should be further flooded by deputations from India, who come to urge their particular views before, in many cases, sections of the people in England who are not capable of forming reasoned judgments upon them. A Labour Conference in the Albert Hall upon such a subject as the extension of the franchise to Indian women—as recently was the case—would be humorous if it were not so productive of discontent. Perhaps the best remedy would be a propaganda campaign throughout the country by the India Office, but the next best course is to limit the activities of those who seek

to gain their ends by distortion and misrepresentation of facts

How true to-day are the words of Warren Hastings written so long ago as 1777, when he says "The dominion exercised by the British Empire in India is fraught with many racial and incurable defects, besides those to which all human institutions are liable, arising from the distance of its scene of operations the impossibility of furnishing it at all times with those aids which it requires from home, and the difficulty of reconciling its primary exigencies with those which in all States ought to take place of every other concern, the interests of the people who are subjected to its authority All that the wisest institutions can effect in such a system can only be to improve the advantages of a temporary possession, and to protract that decay which sooner or later must end it"

## II THE BILL

Since the foregoing was written, the Parliamentary Joint Committee has laid before the Houses of Parliament the Government of India Bill, which is based on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and we are now able to see in what form the Bill will become law when it has passed the necessary readings We conclude a study of it with a mind full of misgivings If the proposals appeared to concede much, the Joint Committee have gone even farther, and the feeling cannot be avoided that the "margin of safety" has been much decreased as a result. Seemingly the visits of various "advanced" deputations, and the literary outpourings of others, have been weighed in the balance against the advice of experienced officials and have turned the scale in their favour Far too little is said about franchise and election, and there is evidence throughout the Bill of our former inveterate tendency to placate our enemies at the expense of our friends It is very evident that the Joint Committee have not been felt

bound by the "proposals," and have gone considerably beyond their authors' original intentions.

The Committee have dealt first with the Provincial Governments, as being that part of the Government of India chiefly affected. The present Lieutenant-Governorships of the United Provinces, Punjab, Behar and Orissa, Central Provinces, and Assam, are to be raised in status and will take place as Governorships by the side of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. So far, so good. We wonder if it is too much to hope that in future some of the Governorships will be given to Indian officials, who have rarely held them hitherto, especially of late years. Indeed it is doubtful whether suitable men could be got from home in sufficient quantity to accept them, and it is obvious that only the best men, with some first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions, will be able to hold them.

It is gratifying to see that the former scheme providing for Members of Council without portfolio is not to be adhered to, and, instead, the Governor's Executive Council will remain as at present constituted, while arrangements will be made for the introduction of not more than two persons with special knowledge of any particular measure before the Legislative Council, at which their presence will be necessary, who will be nominated members of that Council so long as the measure is before it. But it is somewhat difficult to understand why a Governor should not be a member of his own Legislative Council, unless it be because, after four years' time, the Council is to elect its own President. It is impossible to avoid comparing future Provincial Governments with the spectacle, so often seen in India, of two mules drawing a cart, and each of them pushing outwards!

The sizes of the Legislative Councils are detailed in a schedule, and the principle is laid down that at least 70 per cent. of the members are to be elected, and not more than 20 per cent. are to be officials. Any ruler or subject of a Native State may be nominated to a seat on the Councils, but

it is unlikely that any ruler, anyhow, will hanker after the honour, which would be laying himself open to all sorts of attacks, permissible under the right of free speech. Officials are debarred from election, which seems to be a pity.

"Essential" legislation has been greatly simplified in the Bill, and instead of the proposed system of Grand Committees the Governor is to have the power of proceeding by ordinance when necessary.

Considerable alteration has been made in the proposals regarding the Government of India. The Council of State is to be composed of sixty, instead of fifty, members, of whom not more than twenty are to be officials, in place of twenty-five as proposed. The composition of the Legislative Assembly is also increased from 100 to 140 members, and of these forty are to be nominated and twenty-six only are to be officials. There will be power to increase the numbers constituting the Assembly, but five-sevenths at least of the total numbers have to be elected, and of the remainder at least one-third are to be non-officials. The elected members are to be by direct election, and not indirectly through the Provincial Legislative Councils.

The Viceroy's Executive Council is to be as now constituted, but with a minimum of three non-official Indians. There is also one legal member, and the Viceroy's "majority" does not appear to be at all sufficient. Members of the Executive Council may only be members of one of the two "houses." We fail to see why this curtailment of privilege is made. There is very little fear of a member dominating either "house"; possibly the idea of a man having a perverse influence in both was too much for the Joint Committee. The President of the Legislative Assembly is to be selected by the Governor-General for four years, and after that time he will hold office by election of the Assembly. Finally, a native ruler or subject may become a member of either "house." It is unlikely that many such subjects will secure a majority of electors' votes in British India,

and a ruler will probably be contented with his seat or representation in the Council of Princes

As was foreshadowed education is to be one of the "transferred" subjects of provincial administration, and it is observed that Chiefs' colleges are to be included. If this refers to the seminaries at Indore, Rajkot and Ajmer, there is likely to be much opposition on the part of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, for the benefit of whose sons and families the colleges are maintained. Medical administration becomes "transferred," and so do public health and sanitation. Agriculture, also, is to become the sport of the electors, although it is likely that the agriculturist would far rather have things as they are. But the 'ryot,' the backbone of India, is unfortunately too ignorant to agitate against the clamour of which the Bill is a result, and only when it is too late will he realize the change that will have come upon him.

The Native States have not found a place in the Bill, and it would have been unnecessary to have placed the proposals regarding them before the Houses of Parliament, since the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have power to carry them out without further reference. Whether the Ruling Princes and Chiefs will like the new order of things remains to be seen. Although not forming part of British India, so called, they cannot help but be profoundly interested in the methods and systems of government in Provinces adjacent to their States, and the internal welfare of India as a whole certainly affects them in no small degree. That the new scheme will increase and strengthen their ties with the British Government and their attachment to the Throne there can be no doubt, and as before in the past so again in the future we shall find them justifying Lord Chelmsford's description of them in 1916 as "the pillars of the Empire."

It is very desirable that the new Bill should soon be discussed in Parliament, but undue haste in rushing it through the various stages until it becomes law is much to be deprecated. Before it is finally passed into law, some

opportunity should be afforded for the consideration of opinion from India upon it. Not that there is much likelihood of any important change being effected. The work of Mr. Montagu-cum-Joint Committee-cum-Indian Politicians is bound to come into being more or less in the form in which it is now presented, and in the words of an Indian poet, who flourished nearly 300 years ago,

“ If these three be of one mind,  
Even the most powerful can avail nothing ”

(MUKTESHWAR).



## SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

By SIR GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH, K.C.I.E

INDIA presents the strange spectacle of a country, formerly rich, prosperous, and, in a manner, highly civilized, of which the native industries are now decadent, having been crushed out under the stress of modern civilization and progress

Of India's population of 300,000,000 souls, about 60 per cent are supported by agriculture. This leaves a large residue available for industrial purposes, but the arts and crafts for which India has been so justly celebrated, whether metallurgical or textile, whether cutlery, glass, pottery, silks, or other industries, are either dead or dying

Throughout may be found old slag heaps, testifying to the former prosperity of native iron and steel industries, the splendid native iron being superseded by cheap, worthless metal of foreign manufacture. Everywhere may be seen evidence of flourishing industries of the past—in the huge 40-ton brass gun of Bijapur, in the great iron column at the Kutub, in the magnificent inlaid marble of the Taj; in the beautiful carving and fretwork of the tombs, mosques, and other innumerable buildings. It may also be seen in the glassware, pottery, shawls, carpets, and silks; in the treasures of many of the Rajahs, and also in the ruins of indigo factories. India has untold wealth—wonderful natural resources, mineral, agricultural, and industrial; but they are to a great extent dormant. It has coal of an excellent quality. The coal-fields, so far as they have been explored, extend over an area of 35,000 square miles, and are estimated to contain 20,000,000,000 tons of coal. In some cases the supply of iron ore is on a scale of unparalleled

magnitude, whole hills and ranges being of the purest variety. It has chrome iron capable of making the finest "Damascus blades," manganiferous ore, and splendid hematites in profusion; it has gold, silver, antimony, manganese, copper, tin, plumbago, mica, lime, kaolin, gypsum, asbestos, precious stones, soft wheat equal to the finest Australian, hard wheat equal to the finest Kabanka; it has food grains of all kinds, oil seeds, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, lac, spices, dyes, cotton, jute, hemp, flax, coir, fibres of every description—in fact, produce too numerous to mention. There are in India millions of potential horse-power available, in the form of water flowing from the mountain ranges, capable of being converted into electrical energy, and conveyed with slight loss to centres, even to great distances, where it can be utilised for industrial purposes.

The inhabitants of India are frugal, thrifty, industrious, capable of great physical exertion, docile, easily taught, capable in work requiring delicate manipulation. Labour is absurdly cheap, and the soil, for the most part, wonderfully productive.

There is plenty of capital in India. The amount of wealth now hoarded was estimated by Lord Curzon to be about £550,000,000; but neither this nor British capital will flow to a market in which operations are paralyzed, and struggling industries are swamped by unrestricted foreign competition. British capital has, for the most part, been attracted for railways or other Government works by guarantees, and some of the manufactures, such as cotton and jute, have flourished under British capital; but it has been uphill work, and the development of these industries falls far short of the magnificent potentialities of the Empire, and is quite incommensurate with the advantages that have been gained by the policy of the Government of India in the extension of railway and irrigation works, which has enabled the State to relieve some of the weight of taxation that burdens the agriculturists.

The Government of India has done its utmost to develop

the industries of India, but its efforts have been circumscribed by the intervention of the India Office under the dictation of the Secretary of State. Protection of the industries of India against the unrestricted import of bounty-fed produce is absolutely necessary for their development.

In 1910 the Planters' Association of South India passed a resolution recommending an Imperial preferential duty on coffee, tea, rubber, cinchona, cocoa, cotton, and wheat. The native members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council have been persistent in their demands for protection. The Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy said

"There is a general feeling in favour of protection in this country. A judicious tariff is demanded by intelligent public opinion in the interest of undeveloped industries."

Many other members expressed themselves in a similar strain, and the Secretary to the Government of India admitted that, "if they had a free hand, they might be tempted to undertake a reform of the Indian tariff", but Lord Curzon said

"In fiscal matters the Government of India has to take the views of the Secretary of State whether it agrees with them or not, and those views are more likely to be guided and shaped in England than by purely Indian considerations. In drawing up the despatch about the fiscal future of India, we said to ourselves 'What guarantee shall we have, if any new system were proposed, that India should have free speech in the discussion of the subject?'"

The Secretary of State, however, not only refused to grant protection, but even added further obstacles to the development of Indian industry by employing an iniquitous excise duty as an electioneering sop to various English constituencies. Indian cotton was penalized by an excise duty, as the Under-Secretary of State has admitted, "*really for the advantage of Lancashire.*" Tobacco was penalized to conciliate the cigarette-making constituency of Bristol. Lord Lawrence's successful railway policy was reversed to conciliate English speculators. Sugar was penalized to gain the support of the Cocoa Press and the jam and

confectionery interest, on the eve of a bye-election. There had been no previous debate on the subject in the House of Commons, and it was by the arbitrary act of Mr. Asquith that this deadly blow was struck at India's industry. In the debate on the Sugar Duties Bill Lord Curzon said :

"It is in the interest of India, and India alone, that this legislation has been proposed by us. This decline in the Indian industry, in which two millions of people are employed, and in which the annual loss has been estimated at £20,000,000 sterling, is due to the unrestricted competition of a bounty-fed article. Now this is a state of affairs which neither the Government, nor I, as the head of the Government, can consistently accept."

There exists a general feeling that India should have some voice in shaping her own policy, especially her industrial policy, and that her interests should not be sacrificed to the exigencies of a narrow political party of the mother-country. Of late years she has awakened to the need of working out her own salvation by reconstructing her lost indigenous industries and developing new sources of trade.

Mr. Tata has made a new departure by successfully organizing iron manufacture, on an extended scale, with the aid of British capital ; and a most important movement has taken place in the Industrial Conference held in Benares in 1905. This movement, if carried on with the energy and intelligence which has already characterized it, will mark an epoch in the history of India's progress towards self-government.

Under the presidency of Mr. Dutt, twenty-two papers were contributed by educated native gentlemen, and fourteen by influential Englishmen well versed in Indian matters. These papers teem with valuable suggestions and recommendations, and the Government of India welcomed "the awakening of interest in the important questions which was evident in the discussion at the Industrial Conference at Benares."

Space will not admit of anything like a full description

of the details of these suggestions, but the more important of them may be briefly summed up as follows :

1. To forward the "Swadeshi" movement, which aims at the employment of indigenous, in preference to foreign, manufactures.

2. To establish co-operative grain banks, urban banks on the co-operative principle, or co-operative credit societies.

3. To improve the agricultural status by the regulation of the land revenue, by relieving the indebtedness of the ryots, by making advances for the purchase of seed, and by the establishment of State experimental farms.

4. To develop India's resources from within, pursuing the policy indicated by Lord Curzon, in the creation of a Board of Agriculture, a Board of Scientific Advice, a Commercial and Industrial Bureau.

5. To institute a chemical and physical laboratory, industrial schools, technical guilds, scholarships, and apprenticeships for workshop training.

6. To relieve the dead weight of taxation by raising revenue from moderate import duties, which will also prevent the swamping of Indian industries by unlimited foreign competition.

7. To foster international and inter-colonial trade by the exchange of mutual concessions and preferential treatment of the colonies and mother-country.

8. To establish State industries for the utilization of native produce, and to obtain the best expert assistance in working such industries.

9. To give greater facilities for obtaining concessions, and for the acquirement of mining and other industrial rights.

10. To pursue that policy of railway extension and irrigation works which has been eminently successful in increasing State revenues, and to promote trade by the adoption of the lowest practicable railway rates.

11. To govern India in the interest of India alone, and to resist the interference of the Home Government in any

attempt to sacrifice Indian interests to the exigences of English party politics.

There was a general feeling at the conference that, in its fiscal policy, the Government of India had not a free hand ; that the interference of the India Office had forced upon it, against its wishes and advice, measures highly detrimental, and calculated to strangle Indian trade and industries ; that such measures were controlled by Lancashire rather than by India ; that Indian industries were discouraged ; that the export of Indian manufactures had been depressed by prohibitive duties, and the import of English manufactures into India facilitated by the imposition of almost nominal duties ; that excise duties were imposed on the mill produce of India to secure the vote of Lancashire ; and that this burden had been imposed in opposition to the advice of the majority of the members of the Viceroy's Council.

All these opinions point to the need of self-government by the Government of India.

It is necessary, however, in order to prevent misconception, to explain that the so-called democracy which is now being forced on India is not self-government in any sense, but the reverse of it, as past experience has shown.

Twenty-three years ago Lecky sounded a warning against the danger of democracy for India. After pointing out that in the opinion of the best judges a system that would bring to the forefront the natives of Bengal to the detriment of the old governing races of India, and of the strong warlike populations of the North, would be the sure precursor of disaster, he said :

“The great danger that menaces India is to be found neither at Calcutta nor at St. Petersburg, but at Westminster. . . . It is to be found in the introduction into India of modes and maxims of government borrowed from modern European democracies, and utterly unsuited to an Oriental people. It is to be found in acts of injustice perpetrated by Parliament in obedience to party motives and to the pressure of local interests. Still graver in its probable

effects was the policy which forbade India, in a time of deep financial distress, to raise a revenue by import duties on English cotton, in accordance with the almost unanimous desire of her administrators and her educated public opinion . . . If the opinions of English administrators in India or of Indian administrators at home had been taken, such duties would have been imposed; but votes might have been lost, an agitation might have been raised in England, and both parties feared to run the risk." ("Democracy and Liberty," vol i, p. 207)

The following lessons of history may also be quoted :

"Of all tyrannies the worst is the rule by the people" (Aristotle).

"Invariably in civil contests it was found at Athens the worst and most abandoned public characters obtained the ascendancy" (Thucydides)

"The *Egestas cupida novarum rerum* was the most prolific source of the evils which first undermined and lastly overthrew the foundations of Roman liberty" (Sallust).

Livy has described "the vacillation and tyranny of popular assemblies, and the cruel tyranny which the triumph of democracy brought on the Roman Commonwealth."

"Democracy is not the government of the few by the many, but the many by the few. The few who are thus raised to power are the most dangerous and worthless of the community" (Pitt).

"A tendency to democracy does not mean a tendency to parliamentary government or even a tendency to greater liberty. On the contrary, strong arguments may be adduced, both from history and from the nature of things, to show that democracy may often prove the direct opposite of liberty. In ancient Rome the old aristocratic government was gradually transformed into democracy, and it passed speedily into an imperial despotism. In France a corresponding change has more than once taken place" (Lecky).

The only practical form of self-government can be by the agency of the Governor-General in Council, or, in other words, by the Government of India with a free hand, relieved from the baneful interference of the India Office.

To carry out such a policy the Government of India

should be invested with a *written Constitution*, based on principles of good government, justice freedom, liberty and purity, somewhat similar to those which exist in the United States, in Canada, in Australia and in the Cape Colony but modified so as to be suitable to the special conditions of the natives of India Under such a Constitution the liberty and rights of the people are safeguarded, and the power of both the Upper and Lower Chambers is restricted under the protection of a Supreme Court of Judicature, which has the right of authoritatively interpreting the written Constitution and declaring null and void any Act contrary to the spirit of it that may have been passed by either of the Chambers The aim of such a Constitution would be to divide and restrict power to check the appetite for organic change to preserve freedom of contract to guard against the tyranny of the majority and to ensure a spirit of sober and sensible freedom

Under such a Constitution, the Upper Chamber should consist of the Governor General in Council as at present constituted, and the Lower Chamber composed of a workable number of delegates—say not exceeding fifty—of Europeans and Indians in equal number, representing the various provinces of the Indian Empire

The Government of India has, in the past, fully proved its fitness to govern India, and the Indian official stands out in favourable contrast to the average British Member of Parliament, who as a rule, is absolutely deficient in every qualification for sensible or sound administration

Mill has rightly said

“The British Government of India is not only the purest in intention, but one of the most beneficial in act ever known”

Personally I may say

My long and intimate connection with the Government of India extending over eighteen years, enables me to confirm in the strongest manner possible the opinion expressed by Mill



Lord Curzon has paid a just tribute to the Indian Covenanted Civilians, attributing to them :

“A sense of responsibility and devotion to duty, a love of the country and sympathy with its people, developed to a degree that is without parallel in the history of any other country.”

Arminius Vambéry, the celebrated traveller, in a letter to an influential native in Bengal, wrote :

“I am not an Englishman, and I do not ignore the shortcomings of English rule in India ; but I have seen much of the world both in Europe and Asia, and studied the matter carefully, and I can assure you that England is far in advance of the rest of Europe in point of justice, liberality, and fair-dealing with all entrusted to her care.”

A Government formed on such lines and with such materials would be the most perfect Government in the world.

## SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE "DRAIN" IN INDIA

By W. H. MORELAND

OUR Indian visitors have not been idle, and during the last few months select audiences in the metropolis, and still more in the provinces, have been told a great deal about India's condition and aspirations. I have not, unfortunately, been able to hear any of the speeches, but I have read a number of friendly reports, and I have been very much struck by the amount of attention paid to economic questions. I am far from blaming the speakers, who doubtless chose the topics to appeal to their audience, but I have sometimes wished that a Tagore had been among them to expound to the workaday West the spiritual lessons which India has to teach, and her historic contempt for such trifles as food and clothes. However, I am concerned with what was said, not with what remained unspoken, economic topics were the staple of many of the speeches, and among these topics the Drain inevitably took a prominent place. I have not noticed that its nature and its operation were clearly explained, but there again the composition of the audience was probably decisive, and the picture was characterized by vivid colour with strong light and shade rather than by any meticulous attention to detail. What effect it produced on the audiences I do not know, but the series of reports sent me back to some half-forgotten blue-books, just to see how it came about that India has survived this "outpouring of her life-blood", there are masses of figures bearing on the question, and they are accessible to everyone for a very few shillings, but their detailed study is a little tedious, and perhaps it will save

other people some trouble if I put down as shortly as possible the broad results, and add a few suggestions which have occurred to me.

In order to get at the facts regarding the Drain, one must go back to the years before the war; the burden of current complaints is that the Drain has become a normal feature of the position under British rule, and the last five years have been very far from normal. The few figures I shall give are averages based on the three years from April, 1910, to March, 1913, a period when things were running their ordinary course, when trade was not restricted or controlled, and when fifteen rupees were equivalent to the pound sterling; the quantities to be considered are so large that it suffices to talk in millions of pounds (£m.), and lesser sums can be neglected without affecting the course of the argument. In order to see whether a Drain exists, we look first of all at the statistics of trade, which show what useful things a country has sent out and what other useful things she has received in their place, and we find that at the period stated India *sold* in the course of a year things worth £m. 152, and *bought* things worth £m. 99, so that she stood to receive £m. 53 on balance; if she got good value in other ways for this sum, then there was no Drain, and if there was a Drain, its amount will be indicated by the deficiency in good value which she received. Quite a large number of items go to make up the balance-sheet of India's transactions with the rest of the world, which shows what value was received for her exports, but two of them are so much larger than the others that for plain people they make the whole matter clear, and leaving the smaller items on both sides out of account, we may say that against the £m. 53 of surplus exports, India received over £m. 28 in gold and silver, while nearly £m. 26 were paid into her account with the Secretary of State, and spent by him on her behalf. The question, then, is whether she got good value under each of these heads.

Taking the gold and silver first, there is no doubt that from a commercial point of view the transaction was fair, that is to say, the market value of the coins and bullion is correctly shown. Nevertheless, I entirely deny that India got "good value" under this head, and I class from £m 20 upwards of this gold and silver as a Drain on her material resources. The quantity of these metals which is put to useful purposes in India is very small, the bulk of both lies useless, or at most ministers to the vanity of the people, yet in order to obtain them, India has given useful things like grain and oilseeds, or cotton and jute, some of which she could have used for herself, while the rest could have been exchanged for things which would have helped to increase the real income of the people. India is a poor country, but she clings to this old economic vice, she literally gives bread for stones, and poor she will remain until she acquires thriftier habits, and learns to invest her surplus products in more remunerative ways. It may, of course, be argued that India has a right to remain poor if she chooses, though this line does not seem to have been taken in England, but there is another side to the question, for these stocks of gold and silver are the principal incentives to crime, and the country would have far fewer thieves, and consequently far fewer policemen, if the people would change their habits in this respect. Almost every week I read some story in the Indian papers which brings out this aspect of the question: now it is a frail old lady, burnt with hot irons until she gives up her cherished store of jewellery; now it is a strong man hacked to pieces in defence of what he values more than life, or, most piteous tragedy of all, some innocent child strangled for the sake of the paltry ornaments worn to gratify his mother's thoughtless vanity. There, indeed, you have a Drain of India's life-blood.

Perhaps it may be said that the quantity of gold and silver imported on balance is not great enough to make a material difference. The annual sum works out at

is 9½d per head of the population, the burden of Indian taxation (in the strict sense) was at the same period 2s od. per head, and I have seen many assertions that taxation is so heavy as to cripple the energies of the country. If 2s od is crushing, 9½d is not light. Again, the absorption of gold alone totalled £m. 191 in the forty years ending in 1913 and in that year the total of India's oft-denounced sterling debt was £m. 183, if India had chosen to pay her sterling debts instead of buying useless gold, she could have cleared them off in this period without taking silver into consideration. Tried by such tests as these, this Drain of useful things given for the precious metals stands out as a serious economic evil, its continuance undoubtedly means that the country is much poorer than it need be, while the results in social life are all bad, and some of them are hideous.

Next let us see whether India got better value for the £m. 26 which was paid yearly into her account in London. The details published regarding the expenditure of this sum are so full as to be wearying, but eliminating cross entries and keeping to the important items, we find that over £m. 1 was spent on stores for India, about £m. 15 on railways and canals, and about £m. 10 on defence and administration. There is no doubt that India got full value for the stores, one can wish it had been possible to buy more of them in the country, but of the value there can be no question. The money spent on railways and canals went partly in buying out private owners, partly in paying interest on capital, and partly in providing new equipment. I know some Indians have argued that the railways have done harm, but these gentlemen must now be classed as back numbers, the peasants are getting votes, and, when they take charge, they will insist on more canals and more railways to an extent which I fear may sometimes embarrass their elected representatives. Meanwhile, India has acquired property in canals and railways, which already yields several

millions a year after interest and all other charges have been paid, and which will presently make her the envy of the civilized world. As regards the cost of defence and administration, it is possible to point to an item here, and another there, which might conceivably be somewhat reduced, but against these must be set the broad fact that nothing is charged for the world-wide services of the Navy. What value should be set on that item I have no very precise idea, but it is certainly far above the total of all disputable charges actually made, and I am quite sure that if the account were submitted to a jury of international financiers drawn say from France, Brazil, and Japan, the verdict would be that India gets her national existence ridiculously cheap.

Such, then, are the facts. India gets exceedingly good value for the money spent abroad, but she loses heavily by the import of gold and silver on which her people insist, and a financier might be tempted to ask why Indian critics concentrate on the first item, and have nothing whatever to say about the second. The answer I should give to this question is that the money spent abroad does in fact represent a sentimental, though not a material, Drain, in a word, it hurts. It involves a drain on India's newly-found self-respect, an immense national asset, though its value cannot be shown in the country's balance-sheet. Young India is not really interested in knowing whether she gets good value or not, confident of her own efficiency she objects to the existence of these payments as a whole. Now just because this national self-respect is a new growth and not as yet firmly rooted in the past, it overlooks certain material factors, the hard truth is that India makes payments to foreigners to secure her national existence solely by reason of her secular national inefficiency. I call this a hard truth, because I have noticed that Indians are inclined to pass it by, and glory in the political and administrative system of the distant past. That system had many admirable features, but it was vitiated by one fatal flaw—it

failed to provide security for the national existence, and for a thousand years, at any rate, India lay open by land and sea. Everyone knows, or should know, what happened on land from Muhammad *bin* Kasim to Mahmud of Ghazni, from Mahmud to Babur, from Babur to Nadir Shah, anyone who chose might come into India, to slay and loot and burn, and India's neighbours still hold to the tradition as we saw last spring. It was not a question of greater force. Babur won his Empire with probably less than 8000 men at a time when India counted her troops by lakhs. It was national inefficiency, nothing more nor less. The story of the coast is less generally known, but there is abundant evidence that throughout this period every harbour, from Lahari Bandar on the Indus round to distant Chittagong, could be seized, or sacked, or burnt, by any sea-rover who came along. Such things do not happen now, and these annual payments indicate the reason why.

These facts are unpalatable, but they are relevant and important. Their lesson is simply that India must make herself efficient in order to maintain her self-respect, and at the present time her business-management falls very far short of efficiency. The Drain of bread for stones must be stopped before she can fully make good, and her people must learn to invest their surplus in productive work. This doctrine is of course not new, but the point I wish to urge on Indian leaders just now is that the two Drains, the material and the sentimental, are very closely interconnected, every reduction in the import of useless gold and silver can operate to reduce the volume of payments made abroad, and a united and sustained movement would very soon bring these payments down to an inconsiderable sum. Let me offer the outline of a programme for action, which will make this point clear.

1. Support the rupee loans, so that there may never again be any question of borrowing abroad for railways, canals, or other needs. It used to be thought that India

could find only three or four crores yearly for such purposes, that idea has been disproved by recent experience, and with the help of a strong political lead, such as has not yet been forthcoming, India could go ahead in a way that has been impossible in the past without incurring liabilities for paying interest abroad

2 Teach the people to choose their investments more wisely than they are doing now, so that capital may flow freely into essential industries in the hands of men who can be trusted. Steel rails can now be made in India, and that fact alone reduces payments made abroad, but much more steel is, or will soon be, wanted. Make your own rails, build your own wagons, go on presently to locomotives, build ships, make chemicals, find money to provide all the imported goods which India can profitably produce, and so reduce the volume of foreign payments which you dislike so much

3 If there is money left after providing for these needs, buy up your foreign debt, as Japan has lately done. Import the sterling loans instead of gold or silver and get the interest paid in the country, they are cheap just now and exchange is high, so that the £m 28 spent annually on useless metals would bring the whole foreign debt home in a very few years

4 In order to finance these new activities get the people to diminish their demand for gold and silver, and to bring out what is now lying idle. I know this will be hard, for the habit of absorption is of old standing, but it is the leaders' privilege to lead, and at the present juncture there is no work better worth doing than to reduce steadily the volume of the material Drain, and thereby diminish the Drain on the national self-respect

Finally let me recall an almost forgotten incident of Indian history. When a certain Portuguese Governor found himself urgently in need of a loan for capital-development, and appealed to the citizens of Goa, it was the ladies who took the lead, and while they sent their husbands to



subscribe according to their means, they hastened to devote their jewellery to the same purpose, taking the bracelets from their arms, the necklaces from their necks, even the rings from their fingers, till the sum needed was more than made up. For myself, I entirely refuse to believe that, if the need be once made clear, the patriotism of Indian ladies will fall below the standard set at Goa in the sixteenth century.

## AGRARIAN INDEBTEDNESS

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (RET.)

THE topic of agrarian indebtedness has exercised administrators from the times of Solon and the Gracchi to that of Sir Denzil Ibbetson in our own day. In various parts of India the condition of the peasantry and their revolts against economic oppression have compelled the Government of India to pass special Acts, such as the Agriculturists' Relief Act for the Deccan and the Alienation of Land Act for the Punjab. In the latter province things were very bad in 1886, when Mr. S. S. Thorburn wrote his "Musalmans and Money-Lenders in the Punjab" (Blackwood). Mr. Thorburn was accused of much overstatement, but a re-perusal of his work now will convince anyone acquainted with the facts that so far from exaggerating the evil he underrated it, and his only error was in treating the question as one between the Moslem cultivators and their creditors, whereas it is one between the capitalist lender, who is occasionally himself an agriculturist, and the embarrassed cultivator, whether he be owner, occupancy tenant, or merely a tenant without fixity of tenure, and whether he be Musalman, Hindu, or Sikh. Mr. Thorburn's work, however, contains so much material of value that it can still be read with profit. It has never been superseded, and it should be studied by all who wish to try and realize how electoral powers are likely to be used in India, and what the position of the Indian proletariat would be if the money-lending classes secured an alliance with the lawyers, combining with them against the peasantry. Since the war began there have been risings of a more or less serious character in the Punjab.

That of the south-west of the province in 1914 was essentially an agrarian *jacquerie*, a revolt of the Musulman peasants and workers directed not against British rule but against the Hindu money lender. The recent movements seem to have had something of the same character, to judge from their objectives and localities.

How did matters drift into this pass? We may cite Thorburn. "Having annexed the Punjab we over assessed it on the basis of its old Sikh exactions." This was promptly remedied. We then proceeded (in a very characteristic way) to do two things at once, and conduct a 'regular settlement' of each district. That term always puzzles English readers, as well it may do. The object of such a settlement was partly fiscal, but chiefly the preparation of what is called the record of rights—*i.e.*, tenures of every description were investigated, determined, and recorded, says Thorburn. Now it may be possible to conduct a great fiscal survey and a judicial *enquête* simultaneously, but unless the two objectives are each kept clearly in view, the result is like to be disastrous to both. Thorburn exposed the failure of the judicial settlement. He also pointed out the economic result of the "settlements," which was to 'largely appreciate the market value of land and the credit of those whose titles to marketable interests had been established.' Finally he condemned the fiscal error of excessive rigidity in assessments, attributing peasant indebtedness largely to it, but observing that "no disastrous consequences would have ensued had we not also at the same time converted collective into individual ownership of land *plus* the right to alienate it at pleasure." A combined fiscal and judicial operation, with a double objective, had led to a new economic problem. That problem was never studied systematically or scientifically. Fiscal emollients have been applied, as by substituting fluctuating for fixed assessments. Economically, the clumsy, though inevitable, remedy of restricting alienation of agricultural land has been applied. But the Punjab

peasantry remains in debt. It has not only failed to recover from the indebtedness (surely not heavy) incurred in our early over-assessments, but has sunk deeper into the quicksands of insolvency. We must go back to our "settlements" again in the search for a cause.

As is not unusual in English, the term "settlement" was apparently chosen because that operation left everything it touched unsettled. This is no disparagement of the earliest settlement officers. The adjudication by them of millions of disputes as to title was a fine achievement, but the judicial quality of their work was never recognized. A Settlement Collector used no doubt to be invested with formal judicial powers, and exercise them to a limited extent. But he decided a vastly greater number of disputes about land informally in preparing his record of rights. Unfortunately, we refused to make that record proof of title. Even when "sanctioned" by Government (or in better English confirmed by it) it only got a presumption of correctness, and so could always be questioned in a regular civil court. This gave the ball of litigation a good start. The Settlement Officers also compiled district codes of custom and village memoranda on usages—compilations often admirably done and even when brief or incomplete based on an intimate knowledge of what the people really did and really wanted in the whole gamut of their affairs, from marriage and inheritance down to rights in water and the village trees. To these codes nothing was given, not even a presumption of correctness, and they have been an object of consistent hostility to the legal profession. The cost of their compilation was wasted. The most fruitful labours of the Settlement Collector were sterilized, as nothing he had done was final. Even in his fiscal functions the demand fixed by him was always, in theory at least, elastic, and now that it

\* Officialdom has always been strangely reluctant to acknowledge that the work of a settlement was far more judicial than fiscal, or to recognize the great qualities displayed as practical, though unavowed and non-technical, *judges* by the earlier Settlement Collectors.

is so largely fluctuating, his "settlement" can only be described as unsettling. Our policy may be described as one of alternating currents. For about one year in three\* a district goes through the crisis of a "settlement," which fixes its revenue demand in a certain sense, and wakes a good many sleeping dogs when the record of rights is revised in the quasi-judicial *enquête* as to titles, boundaries, etc. For the remaining two-thirds of its existence it is left severely alone, to settle its disputes by litigation. Every settlement discloses more agrarian debt, more expropriation of the peasantry, and greater need for economic reconstruction.

The work of the Settlement Officer, depreciated as it has been in the past by timorous refusals to give it finality, forms an admirable basis for such reconstruction. By making the individual holder full proprietor of his land we gave him a free gift of capital. But that capital was not in a liquid form. He ought, of course, to have saved money, but he had excuses for not having done so. If he had kept out of debt during Sikh rule he had seldom saved under it. Our over-assessments after annexation did not facilitate thrift. Probably then a general resort to borrowed capital was inevitable, and perhaps a necessary complement to our gift. But whence was it to be obtained? The answer is, from the money-lender and no one else. We made no attempt to carry on the settlement's work to its logical economical conclusion and organize the supply of capital to the newly created owner. Within limits, up to the value of his holding, homestead, and stock, he had magnificent security to offer. Organized capital would have lent him money at 6 per cent. or possibly less, on the security of his land, at any rate. The money-lender lent it him at rates which we dare not state, but which have been often described.†

\* The last Settlement Officer of Jhelum informed me that this was the figure for that district.

† *E.g.* Thorburn, *op. cit.*, p. 169 ff., where various authorities are quoted.

We now come to a most difficult task, that of endeavouring to discover and indicate the causes of agrarian indebtedness and insolvency. Three schools of official opinion exist. One, a little out of date, regards the money-lender as an evil, the second opines that the law must take its course, favours *laissez-faire* and the elimination of the unfit, while the third, the largest and most judicious, thinks there is a great deal to be said on both sides and, *more Britannico*, deprecates drastic action, disbelieves unpleasant facts, and postpones effective action till the last moment has gone by. This last school accounts for the meandering course of economic policy pursued in the past. Economic laws are absolute and seemingly inexorable in their working, but this truism exponents of "wait and see" will not recognize or admit.

In economic law a man with good security to offer ought to be able to borrow money on that security at low interest, especially if he will mortgage or pawn that security. But our courts have entirely failed to recognize this axiom or to give effect to it. Hence it is common to find secured debts bearing high interest—at a rate equal to that charged on unsecured debts. Many decisions entitle the courts to go into the terms of a bond and cut down unconscionable interest, but not one is known to the present writer which differentiates between secured and unsecured debts. The money-lender is equally indiscriminating, and who shall blame him for his lack of economic learning? As long as he can get high interest on *both* kinds of advance he would be a fool to reduce it on such as are well secured. The most enlightened money-lenders, however, seem, to do them justice, quite innocent of the distinction.\* The cultivator has no inkling of it.

But security may be general and not particular. A landowner may incur unsecured debts and his creditor may

\* This was certainly the case in the part in which the present writer last served—a fertile agricultural district with much indebtedness. The money-lenders as a body did not know what a "secured" debt was.

think his money safe because he can bring all his property to sale. Indeed in early days our courts sold land to realize decreed debts freely (and probably much too freely), so various enactments were passed to "protect" the embarrassed land owner. But economic laws being inexorable, this action struck a severe blow at agricultural credit in general. The law had not forbidden lending. It had never warned the lender that he could not lend with any safety except on a mortgage. Then when he *had* lent, much too freely no doubt and at usurious rates, the executive authorities intervened and often refused to allow his debtor's land to be sold. It is submitted that in this matter executive action was not guided by any economic principles whatsoever. If it had been it would have enunciated some such rules as these: "The courts decree interest as on unsecured debts against owners of land. They may be bound to do so but we are guardians of equity and if, by allowing land to be sold to satisfy such decrees we virtually do what the lender neglected to do for himself—i.e., insist on his getting security—if, then, we turn his unsecured debt into a secured one, we must, as an equitable set-off reduce his usurious rate to a fair economic rate. And in some cases we may go farther and look into the origin of the debt, its history, necessity, and its terms as to compound interest. But having cut down the interest and ascertained what is fairly due to the creditor we must see that he gets it—and allow the sale of sufficient land to meet his debt as we have assessed it." But too often sale was peremptorily disallowed *in toto*, and thenceforward the money-lender had a grievance. He lost both principal and interest. By a law of economic human nature he raised his rates or kept them up against his agricultural *clientèle* in the lump.

But the Legislature did not stop at protecting land from seizure in execution of money decrees. It also exempted artisans' tools, the peasants' stock, and so on—and very rightly so. Thenceforward the lender knew that he could

not look to plough-cattle, for instance, as any sort of security for his advances—or rather he should have known it. But now the courts come in. It is, we are told, their duty to administer the law—but with an important qualification: the litigant who invokes any protective provision of law must appear in court and plead it. Very quickly the money-lender seized on his advantage. He will attach a debtor's plough-cattle, timing the operation just when they were most wanted for ploughing. The cultivator's only remedy is to go to the court—which may mean a trudge of fifty miles or more—and claim their release. That claim has to be heard, and by the time it is decided (in his favour) the time for ploughing has passed, and the cattle, whose condition does not seem to improve during the spell of enforced rest, are returned to him.\*

What remedies have been tried or can be suggested for a long-admitted evil which affects all agricultural India in a greater or less degree? We have the Co-operative Credit movement, admirable in intention and hopeful in a limited field. Yet surely its very name is unfortunate if it implies that it is solely destined to expand agricultural credit and not diminish agrarian insolvency. All credit, co-operative or individual, must in the last resort be based on security.† The borrower's integrity is no doubt an

\* It has been held that a court must not, *proprio motu*, refuse to attach a cultivator's plough cattle, even though it knows that they are exempted from attachment. It must effect the attachment, and let the cultivator apply for their release. Judicial "principles," it is to be feared, are not unlike amateur strategy in that they are inclined to ignore such humdrum considerations as time, distance, and the breakdown of human nature under temptation. It is a fallacy to imagine that formal, tangible security is always the most effective. A Government servant may not be able to hypothecate his salary as security, but it is against the rules to get heavily into debt. Hence, as in cases in the writer's experience, the threat of a complaint to the head of an office may be *more* profitable to an usurer than a legally secured debt. The lender, of course, finds his real security, not in the law, but in the Government rules regarding indebtedness and bankruptcy among its *employés*.

† Co-operative Societies in India seem to have discovered this, and to be obtaining mortgages of land as collateral security for advances. The



asset, but when a debtor is insolvent it is not one that can be realized. Insolvency, agrarian as much as commercial, must be dealt with by the courts of bankruptcy. A far wider problem is to prevent its increase and to insure its arrest; a large measure of legal reform, both in procedure and substantive equity, is necessary. And this must be accompanied by a widespread education of the judiciary, the money-lender, and the land-owner, in economic law. The courts have to realize that law is, in Della Croce's phrase, "a function of economics." The money-lender has to realize that the cultivator is a goose who lays golden eggs and that, on a long view, it is a mistake to kill him. Our schools might well teach the elementary rule that lending on good security at low interest is more profitable than making prodigal advances at usurious rates without it. The landholder ought to be taught, with the three R's, that while it is legitimate to finance his trade on borrowed capital, it is courting disaster to raise money at usurious rates for such unproductive purposes as fireworks at weddings. But no legal reform in India can ever be really effective until she has her own Supreme Court in India to standardize judicial policy and raise the *rationes decidendi* to a higher plane. The greatest peril to which the masses in India will be exposed under the new *régime* will be a combine between the money-lender and the less scrupulous type of pleader. Have any steps been taken to protect the great body of small peasant proprietors, and those who are dependent upon him, against this danger? It does not seem so. The peril

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Report of Sir Edward Maclagan's Committee on Co operation in India (1915—but only issued in 1919) contains some admirable observations on this point. See paragraphs 65 69, especially paragraph 66. Paragraph 69 exposes some of the complications which arise when alienation of land is restricted. The money-lender gets round such restrictions and loads his rates of interest to cover the risks and expense of so doing. But Co-operative Banks cannot evade the law. It seems obvious, then, that mortgages of agricultural land to such banks should be made legal, and as cheap and simple as possible.

is a very real one, as experience shows. If the Indian peasantry falls into economic servitude, loses its title in the soil it has clung to through so many political vicissitudes, what a field for Bolshevik propaganda it will present ! As a corrective of legalism, a check on politico-economic log-rolling, and a counterweight to the influence of the usurers, a Court, placed as high above all extraneous currents as is humanly possible, is essential if the new model is to succeed. The Charter of such a Court should make it the Supreme tribunal in every sense. It should vest it with powers to make the judiciary administer the law and prevent oppression under legal forms. It should be able to instil it with courage and initiative. Its Charter should entitle it to work with the Legislature, by freeing it from the shackles of literal interpretation. It should not be compelled to take its law from the advocate, because he can cite precedent upon precedent, without regard to reason and the well-being of the people, any more than it should be constrained to delegate its function of finding on the facts to the professional witness. Centuries ago an acute jurist observed that the witnesses in a cause were the real judges of all questions of fact—a somewhat dangerous position, unless testimony is invariably truthful. That may have been the law in medieval Europe, but the time has gone by for law to exist as a thing apart from the broader currents of national life. A Supreme Court should be commissioned by its Charter as the Keeper of the King-Emperor's conscience. Without some such guardian we may live to see India convulsed by a disastrous struggle between her indebted millions and the monied classes we have done so much to create. If it is true of European countries that unrest is largely due to economic causes, it is profoundly true of India.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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### THE STUDY OF THE INDIAN VERNACULARS

BY THE REV. A. DARBY, M.A., B.D.

IN the paper I am about to read, I propose to state, as clearly as I can, the conclusions which a considerable and somewhat peculiar experience of India has led me to form, regarding the desirability of a better knowledge of the vernaculars on the part of those who are called to work in that country.

To an audience of this kind it is unnecessary to labour the point that the supreme need of the present time in India is the cultivation of more sympathetic relations with its people; but it is, I think, still necessary to affirm, repeatedly and emphatically, that such relations can be established only through such a knowledge of the languages as will render possible first-hand and free intercourse with the great mass of the people which knows nothing of English.

English has become so generally the language of the offices, and so many find employment which calls for the use of no other, that there is considerable plausibility in the assertion sometimes made, that a knowledge of the vernaculars can be dispensed with. Before going on to our main subject we must dispose of this contention.

Our reputation and influence in India most emphatically do not depend upon the quality of our official output, nor is the intercourse of an official with his subordinates of a kind to call out much mutual regard. In spite of much

talk about democracy, the vast majority of the population is still at that stage where the personal note is essential, and it is because we are looked upon as little more than officials administering a soulless system that our best work is unappreciated. It is the senior officials who find English sufficient for their needs, and these are far outnumbered by those of junior grade, whose work necessarily brings them into contact with men of every class of Hindu society, most of whom know no tongue but that in which they were born. It is from the impressions created by these latter that the popular estimate is formed.

The ordinary uneducated Hindu is a very tractable and patient person, but the one thing he does greatly appreciate is the opportunity to present his cause or trouble to the official who has to deal with it and because the Indian official is much better able to meet the people in this way, he has a distinct advantage over the Englishman to set off against a possible inferiority in some other direction. One has but to watch the anxious face of a rayat employing an interpreter to speak for him, to see what harm is done because he cannot be sure that his appeal has reached the official ear in the form he thinks it ought to do. The exercise of a little courtesy and sympathy in such a case means the creation of a feeling which spreads quickly through a whole village and colours the sentiment of a large number. It may be said that the official cannot and ought not to waste his time in listening to the small matters humble petitioners wish to bring to his notice, but this opinion seems to me to be hopelessly wrong. If the official is so much occupied with departmental routine and the filling of Government files and pigeon holes that he cannot keep in close touch with those whose destinies he so largely controls, if he really cannot find the time to hear the little complaints which, although they seem trivial to himself, are of primary importance to those who present them, then departmental work must be reduced

and time must be found. We can better afford to fail somewhat in departmental efficiency than to omit anything which will give us a place in the hearts of the people. The day when we can dispense with the personal relation most emphatically has not yet come, and we are being rudely awakened from the pleasant dream that single-hearted and conscientious efforts to do our best for the country must produce a grateful appreciation upon which we should be able to rely in time of stress, and be our security against the misrepresentations of the unkindly disposed. It is ignorance of our true spirit which makes the masses so ready to accept the false constructions put upon our actions, and it is our own fault that they see but one side of the matter.

Many things combine to make the old, more cordial relations difficult to maintain in these days when there is peculiar need that they should be maintained, and one of the chief of these is the general low standard of linguistic attainments. It is generally admitted that the acquirements of missionaries in this direction are superior to those of any other class of foreigners in India, and it would be difficult to find a missionary of experience who did not admit that his attainments were inadequate. We wonder sometimes why we do not win our due meed of gratitude for what we do or try to do; we should not so wonder if we realized that our imperfect knowledge of the vernaculars is a perpetual source of irritation and misunderstanding. Englishmen express their wants in terms which convey no intelligible meaning to their hearers, and then are angry because they are not properly understood by those who have to trust to their wits to discover what it is that the sahib is trying to say, and this goes on among a people who have little to learn from anybody regarding what good manners and courtesy demand. No official efficiency can counterbalance the evil thus caused, and it is this which has led to the verdict being given against us, in spite of the good we have done. The fact that this verdict is

readily reversed in favour of those who are understood and can approach the people in a sympathetic manner, is sufficient proof of the truth of what I say. If we want to understand India, we must be cautious of forming our opinions from what the English-speaking portion of the community tell us; if we wish Indians to believe that we have their welfare at heart we must prove it by taking the trouble to learn to talk to them. It may be laid down as axiomatic that every foreigner in India should aim at the highest possible attainments in the vernacular of those among whom he works, and that no efforts should be spared by those who have the direction of affairs to give this aim the *first* place in the general policy. No officer is truly efficient who cannot, if he wishes, dispense with translators and interpreters, and who cannot, when called upon, address a public audience in the vernacular. At present one who can do this is looked upon as something of a prodigy. We are approaching a time when personal influence must largely take the place of Government orders, and when the foreigner who is out of sympathy with the aspirations of the people will find India uncongenial. Judgments of the capacity of an Indian founded on what he can do through the medium of English are very unfair to him, for he is one man in English and another in the vernacular. Never having realized how high must be the attainments of those who claim to be truly efficient in a foreign tongue, we do not realize what we have done in trying to impart a sound education in the secondary schools through the medium of English; we cannot expect education to be satisfactory when the time and energies of students are mainly taken up with memorizing the expression in which their studies are clothed. One outcome of the present nationalist movement is a desire to return to the vernaculars as the media of instruction, and this is a perfectly legitimate desire, holding out promise of much good. Those who take up educational work in the future will be called upon to give themselves to the study of the vernaculars much

more seriously, and it seems to me to be quite evident that to dispense with the services of Englishmen in the schools would be a grave mistake, for it is in the schools and colleges that the best opportunity for the cultivation of sympathy between the two peoples is found, and we have lessons still to teach which the Indian needs to learn. It should hardly be necessary to say that those who cannot speak the language of their pupils will not have much influence over them.

Another aspect of the subject may be touched upon. Our great asset in India is the belief that the Englishman, according to his lights, is a just man, but against this has to be set off the prevalent suspicion that the subordinates in an office especially when the chief is ignorant of the language and not likely to have access to first hand information, are capable of giving things a turn to suit themselves, hence arises the impression that a lubricant administered here and there may expedite matters. I do not myself think that this suspicion has so much real ground as is often supposed but I am sure it exists, and it obviously suits the convenience of some that it should exist. Its main support lies in the common impression that the official's knowledge of the vernacular is not reliable. In the time that is coming, there is bound to be trouble in the offices owing to the doubts other castes entertain of Brahmin honesty of purpose. It is well known how difficult it is for a non-Brahmin to gain or retain a place in many offices, and the dissatisfaction thence arising will increase as other castes press for a share of the spoils of office, as they are sure to do. I speak as I do, not because I wish to criticize the much maligned Brahmin or to add to the heavy burden of unpopularity he has to bear, but because the suspicion is a fact to be dealt with, and the Brahmins are as well aware of it as anybody. Proficiency in the vernaculars would not, of course, entirely do away with this, but it is the best corrective available, for it arouses the fear that the official will learn more than is expedient of what goes on behind

the scenes. If he moves freely among the people he will hear much that no one will dare to tell him in his office.

It may seem that I have given undue prominence to this part of my subject, but it is becoming more and more evident to me that failure in the direction indicated has been productive of more harm than is at all recognized, and that if Englishmen in India had made it their first duty to attain proficiency in the use of what, after all, is the real instrument of government, the political movement of our time would not have assumed its present disagreeable form. Many unpleasant phenomena which are attributed to other causes are really due to this. We have failed to commend ourselves to the hearts of Indians because we have not kept steadily before us the need of encouraging to the utmost everything that would promote sympathetic personal intercourse, and chief among these things is knowledge of the vernaculars. The tardy nature of our repentance detracts from its value but better late than never. We must ask the Indians to forgive us on the ground of our ignorance.

What sort of a record have we in this matter? It is not my wish to criticize those to whom the onerous task of governing India is committed but this paper would have no justification if everything were for the best in ~~the~~ the best of all possible worlds. We have governed India for well over a hundred years. India is a country of many languages, and living intercourse with its people depends upon capacity to meet them on their own ground. True statesmanship would have recognized the gravity of this fact from the first, and have provided for it. What sort of provision has been made to ensure proficiency in the handling of the indispensable instrument of government? There is no institution in India where students can find the tuition they require, nothing has been done to train teachers, and the old complaint, that the so called pandits are inefficient teachers, is as true as ever. Men landing in the country are supposed to get up the languages in their spare time, and the greater part of the remuneration they



receive finds its way into the pockets of the teachers. The examinations are taken after such a short period of study that outsiders conclude either that the examinations are very easy or that the new-comers are geniuses to a man. The opinion widely prevails that the study of grammar—the science of the most universal of all arts, and without a sound knowledge of which real proficiency is impossible—is for pedants only, and all discussions of method is thereby vitiated. No organized attempt to provide the requisite books has been made, with the consequence that this work has been carried out by private enterprise on no regular principles, and the students have had to do their best with books which are defective in many ways, and do not give him what he requires.

Whatever may have been the shortcomings of the past, the time has come when the provision of a complete series of suitable books should be taken in hand. Materials for this work are now available. The labours of Sir George Grierson and his assistants have made a general survey and comparison of the languages possible; a committee, over which Professor Sonnenschein presides, is engaged in reducing grammatical terminology to order; phonetics has become an exact science; educational methods and the psychology of the intellect are understood as they never were before. All this should be given practical application and made available for popular use. When the right books are provided we shall be surprised to see how much the labour of students can be lightened by the employment of sound methods of teaching and study.

A further factor in the problem has to be considered: The greater vernaculars belong to one or another of two main groups—the Aryan and the Dravidian—and a knowledge of one member of a family greatly assists to the mastery of a second. The majority of those who work in India find themselves called upon to learn more than one language, and the affinity of the languages should be utilized

as far as possible to facilitate the passage from one language to another.

The prominent features of the books I contemplate would be the following. The terminology employed in them should be the same throughout, and one order should be preserved. They should combine a carefully thought-out method with the grammar, and this method should be devised with a view to producing the best ultimate result, and not the superficial facility which deceives all but those who know what the attainments must be before the student can be considered proficient. They should provide abundant and sensible exercises on every grammatical form, the scope of the books should be restricted to the essential and the practical, they should aim to impart such a knowledge as will enable the student to express every thought in an intelligible manner, but the view of the wood should not be obscured by the thick trees of scholastic detail which the advanced student can work out for himself if he desires to do so.

If the requisite unity is to be attained, the compilation of such a series must be controlled by one mind, and that an English mind, because an Englishman best knows the wants and scholastic antecedents of Englishmen, and can best tell where the linguistic shoe is likely to pinch. The only way in which one order can be preserved is by following the educational maxim of proceeding from the known to the unknown, and making English sentence structure the basis. The controlling mind must be that of one who has a knowledge of the languages covered by the series, but it is, of course, impossible for one man to be familiar with the vocabularies of so many languages, and in no case is it safe for a foreigner to dispense with the help of native experts, however proficient he may be. Competent assistants for every language must therefore be engaged, but the controlling mind should have such a knowledge of the structure and grammar of *all* the languages treated, and of the characters employed in writing them, as to be able to check

the work throughout, and to ensure an accurate presentment. He must also be prepared to familiarize himself with all that has been done by scholars in various branches of study adjacent to his special task, and to embody it in the books. He must also be capable of expressing his facts in a way to be easily and clearly understood, and the work should not be considered complete until the books are actually in the hands of the book-sellers. One need not hesitate to say that it would be well worth while for the Government to bear the whole cost of publication, and to present copies to all *bona-fide* students.

This last remark may arouse someone to question my sobriety of judgment : I ask him to refrain for a few minutes. The reform which would be of more profit to India than any other imaginable would be the adoption for use throughout the country of a single alphabet based on the Romanic. The economic, administrative, and educational value of such a reform can hardly be over-estimated. The present state of public feeling renders the introduction of such an alphabet far more difficult than it would have been fifty years ago, but its introduction is so highly desirable that no effort to effect it should be spared, and ways and means have to be discovered for giving the people of India an opportunity of judging of its merits. The books advocated would naturally employ one system of transliteration throughout, and the use of these books would familiarize all new-comers with it. Any expense incurred in this direction would therefore be amply justified, to say nothing of the great increase in interest which would result from a common understanding of the nature of the native languages.

Now in the matter of a universal alphabet there is presented to us a choice from among several possible systems. What is wanted is an alphabet which is as simple as possible consistently with the ideal of a distinct and easily recognizable symbol for every sound. It must lend itself to the requirements of the printer's art, be adaptable to typewriters and type-casting machines, be easy to learn, and such that

an equivalent script, both cursive and manuscript, and displaying the essential qualities of rapidity and legibility, may be formed from it. I do not hesitate to say that these requirements cannot be met by any system which involves the free use of diacritical points. While a particular system is employed by scholars only, it does not matter much what it is, so long as it is intelligible and consistent, but if an alphabet is to come into general use, only the best is good enough. The system which at present enjoys some sort of official approval is neither so well known or widely used that its rejection need excite regret. The only wise method to employ in fashioning the alphabet of which we are in search, is that which was followed by the Brahmins in Southern India when they found that the Dravidians had not sufficient signs to symbolize the Aryan sounds. They freely fashioned others of a character similar to those already existing, and their example is the one to follow. The system so strenuously advocated by the Rev J Knowles follows this method, and is undoubtedly the best yet devised, although it seems to need modification in a few points. The books I advocate would adopt this or some other fashioned on similar lines.

Since the question of a universal alphabet is one which has aroused considerable interest, it will not be out of place to mention other possible ways in which a start can be made. It is necessary to make it quite clear that there is no intention to force upon Indians something unpalatable, but to make it possible for them to see for themselves the benefits which would accrue from its adoption. The great obstacle to be overcome is not absence of understanding of its advantages, but the religious and patriotic sentiment which attaches itself to the Devanagari and Arabic alphabets. This sentiment no doubt stands in the way of progress, but it must be respected while its destruction involves the happiness of the majority. It is in the primary schools that the reform is most needed, for it would be of immense advantage if children could be taught to read and

write by means of the simple and easy Romanic character, leaving the vernacular character till a later stage. The complicated vernacular characters are very difficult and the drudgery entailed in learning them is calculated to damp the ardour of the keenest child, and to deaden its mental faculties from the start. A beginning could easily be made in Christian schools, but in order that this may be possible, the Government must be ready with its sanction. Class books for the early standards must be provided, but this is a very simple matter, and in many areas the number of pupils in Christian schools is sufficient to make the provision of such books a business proposition. Other literature in the same character would naturally follow, for it is pretty certain that when once acquired, its superiority to the native character would ensure its continued use. Again, considering the ease with which it can be learned, inducements to voluntary study might well be forthcoming, even in Government schools. It would be of great advantage if its use for official documents and for office work could be made compulsory, but the Government is the one body that dare not make a move of this kind without encountering abundant criticism and misrepresentation. Perhaps it is to commercial houses that we must look for a real beginning. The alphabet I should propose is so easy that, if correspondence were actually written in it, it would be read by anyone who knew English, even although he had never seen it before, and no doubt, if a demand arose, type-writers would soon supply the requisite machines. Again it would possibly be practicable to use the alphabet for the telegraphic service. At present the Roman alphabet is used and the risk of mistake is great, owing to the absence of necessary signs. It should be no great task to devise a code to suit the new alphabet, and in using it the public would discover that they had in their hands an instrument of no small value. The number of those who can speak a language but cannot communicate in writing with their friends in that language is very great. If the alphabet could once be brought into

popular use the difficulty of learning a vernacular would be greatly lessened, because the long labour of learning the native characters would be done away with altogether.

Perhaps it will be well to notice, in connection with the production of the series of grammars suggested, one somewhat curious fact. Although the majority of Indians would certainly like to see the Englishman fluent in the vernacular, and the Indian is usually conscious of being at a disadvantage when he has to use English to express himself, yet there undoubtedly exists among a certain section a sort of prejudice against a foreigner attempting to produce such books. It is somewhat difficult to account for this ; in part it is due to the great reverence in which Sanskrit is held, a reverence which is a little shocked when methods other than the traditional are employed ; in part it is due to the suggestion of self-interest which prefers that the European should not become too independent ; and in part to the implied suggestion that Indians do not know their own language. Another cause may be that they are unable to see that it is not necessary that the writer should be able to speak the language freely and correctly in order to be competent to compile a grammar. If this opinion were correct we should never have any suitable books at all. Whatever the causes of the prejudices I mention may be, they must not be seriously considered further than as an obstacle to be overcome. It should be made quite clear that the books are required for foreigners and in no sense intended to supersede the work of native scholars. These can decide for themselves whether they will accept and utilize anything they may find in them.

Having provided the requisite books we may consider how they can best be utilized, and what other measures may be taken to further our aims. At last we have a School of Oriental Study in London and great things may be expected of it, but it cannot take the place of what is needed in India itself—viz., a similar institution where the best methods would be employed and where teachers could

be trained for their work, an institution providing courses of instruction for all who cared to use it, with facilities for conversation with native speakers of the languages studied, and giving such insight into Indian life as would equip a man for his work and save him from many an initial blunder, an institution controlling all language examinations in a regular manner. This is obviously a work which can best be done amidst the environment to be studied and understood and the institution would reach a far larger number than the one in London can be expected to do. The higher work should be the business of the Home Institution, the Indian should aim at immediate practical usefulness although it could no doubt usefully contribute to the work of the senior house.

Some sixteen years ago I caused to be printed and circulated a pamphlet advocating the establishment of such an institution. The actual result was not great because the majority of those consulted would not make the sacrifice of the first few months of a man's service although many acknowledged that this service was not of much value and frequently resulted in poor attainments in the vernaculars and a lowered efficiency afterwards. Since that proposal was put forth tentative experiments have been made on the lines suggested, and although these have not been so successful as they would have been if they had been more seriously and carefully organized, I can still honestly say that nothing has occurred to shake my conviction of the necessity of such an institution, and much has happened to strengthen that conviction. Not only would it help the student over the first drudgery incident to the study of any language it would put him in the way of doing subsequent work, and probably quicken his interest in things Indian. The Indian languages are not difficult and failure to learn them is generally to be traced to lack of interest or to faulty methods of study.

What should be the attitude towards this institution? If it be admitted that high attainments in the vernaculars

are essential to good work, and to the creation of a sympathy with things Indian, the duty of Government, as of other authorities, does not end with the provision of facilities for acquiring such knowledge, it must go on to see that they are utilized to the fullest extent, and everything possible should be done to encourage the use of the institution. Leave for language study is often given but this leave can be truly profitable only when the necessary facilities for substantial work are provided. Language leave should not be a favour conferred on those who ask for it, but a requirement to be enforced at the beginning of a man's career in India and regulations should be laid down demanding that the leave given shall be spent in the way prescribed. What every man needs is help and guidance at the start, the help which will enable him quickly to find his feet in the new surroundings, and create in him an interest which will remain with him throughout his life. Far better is it that he should do no work at all for a time than that he should be badly equipped. Instead of submitting themselves to the guidance of those who, because they wish to please their temporary employers, make it their main purpose to steer their pupils as easily as possible through the intricacies of an examination, and to do this by skilful anticipation of what is likely to be asked, students, if they are really to learn the languages, must be put under skilled teachers who aim at ultimate proficiency. It follows that the institution I propose should control the examinations and free them from their present liability to fluctuation. The general level has to be raised and the institution must aim at this rather than at the creation of experts. This latter work is rather the province of the School in London.

It would be well if the incentives to study now provided could be increased to the point where they would overcome the present reluctance to take up the study of language seriously and encourage those whose taste lies that way to exercise it to the full. The roll of those who have found time to do good work in this field is long and contains many



honoured names, but it is to be feared that, for the majority, language study is a hardly grudged labour enforced by a disagreeable regulation.

It may also be said that, outside Government circles, there is a strong feeling that, in the allocation of officers, too little attention is given to their particular linguistic attainments. A man usually gives himself to the study of his first language more heartily than to any subsequent one, but the knowledge that, however proficient he may try to become, he will probably be called to learn another in a short time is a distinct discouragement and tends to deaden interest. It is impossible always to keep men in one language area, but it should be possible to do much better than is done. There is much reason to think that the point hardly enters seriously into the deliberations at headquarters, and this cannot be considered satisfactory by those who know how essential to good work of the kind so urgently needed is proficiency in the language.

We would sum up by saying that the whole matter must be considered in the light of the fact that the new India is going to be a more uncomfortable place than it has been hitherto for those who are not prepared to enter into her life and to sympathize with her aspirations. The foreigner will never be anything else than a foreigner if he is not a ready speaker and writer of the vernacular. Side by side with the demand that Indians shall manage their own affairs, there exists a desire that Englishmen shall contribute what they alone can do, but the actual value of their contributions will depend almost entirely upon the spirit in which they are offered, and the evidence they bear with them of a sympathetic grasp of the problems they affect. We are dealing with a people of a peculiar mentality, and in order to help them we must understand them and gain their confidence. The key to the situation is such a knowledge of a vernacular as will enable the possessor to find rich interest in the lives, customs and thought of the people. Where this interest is active the common reproach that the

Englishman is a man of his office and gymkhana only, and has nothing in common with Indians, will no longer be applicable. Where there is a good knowledge of the vernacular, there we may expect to find the sort of interest which will convince India that we want to see her move forward to the time when we shall point to her greatness as the finest thing the Anglo-Saxon race has ever achieved.

I thank you for your patience in listening to what must have seemed somewhat visionary, and trust you will pardon what may have appeared to be harsh. My apology must be that desperate evils require desperate remedies, and the evils arising from the general lack of sympathetic understanding of the Indian people are such that very energetic measures are called for.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, October 20, 1919, at the Lincolnshire Room, 7, Tothill Street, Westminster, at which a paper was read by the Rev A Darby MA, PD (Kolhapur State Service Retired) entitled 'The Study of the Indian Vernaculars'. In the absence of the Right Hon Lord Lamington, C M G, G C I E, the chair was taken by Mr William Colostream, K I H, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir Krishna G Gupta, K C S I; Sir Manoharjee M Thonungree, K C I E; Sardar Khan Bahadur Rustom J Vakil, Mr N C Sen, O I E, Mr J B Pennington, Mr Hugh Spencer, C I E, Mr R Grant Brown, Mr C B Kama Rao, M D, the Rev H U Westbrecht, Stanton D D, General Chanler, Lady Katharine Stuart, Mrs Garling, Diary M G M Ryan, Mr I J P Richter, Mrs Jackson, Miss Collins, Irons, Larnikoff, Miss I R Scatcherd, Mr I H Brown, Mr B V Jadhav, Mrs Meaden, Mr I C Swift, Mr R C Master, Mr P Phillipowsky, Mr J K Gayer, Mr I C Channing, Mr P V Gurry, Mr W J Tringle, Mr J S Dhunjibhoy, Miss Howsin, Mr J P B Jeejeebhoy, Mr I Grubb, Mr Muthwell, Colonel W H Burke, I M S, Colonel I S Terry, the Rev A Davis, Mr I Pratt, Miss Eleanor Sykes, Miss Walford, Professor Lickerton, Mr M Ramachandra Rau, Mr Duncan Irvine, Mr I Gotla and Mr Stanley Rice, Hon Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in introducing to you the Rev A Darby, who has been engaged in India in missionary and educational work. He has been twenty six years in India, and, having gained his experience in a native state and in different parts of India, he is no doubt very well qualified to speak upon the subject of the lecture. (Hear, hear.)

The paper was then read.

The LECTURER: I would just like to say in conclusion, that this paper is the outcome of an application I made to the East India Association to support me in the work I am trying to do in the way suggested in this paper. I have for some years been meditating the production of a series of Grammars which would meet the needs of students and when I asked Dr Pollen what he could do to help me he suggested that I should read this paper here and so give publicity to my ideas.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we must all feel the vast importance of the subject which has been treated in such an interesting manner by the Lecturer. Its importance for the British nation can hardly be exaggerated. The training of our officials in the vernaculars of the East has been the subject of much deliberation and many schemes and plans in the last hundred years, and while we must admit that the Indian official as regards his intimate acquaintance with the

people, capacity for gathering information, and so on, is somewhat nearer his subject than the English official, I hope the Lecturer has depreciated somewhat too strongly the general qualifications of the British official in his knowledge of the vernacular (Hear, hear) I can call to mind the names of many Civil officers in the Punjab whose knowledge of the language was wide and intimate. I have known of Commissioners, officers of high standing, who were able to talk the Punjab vernacular with the most ignorant villager. I am sure the names of some of those in that Province, where I myself served, will be present to the recollection of some whom I see now before me.

There is no doubt that facility in the use of the language is of the very utmost importance. At the same time it may be exaggerated in a way, that is to say, the knowledge of the language and administrative ability do not always go together. A good many of us who have served in India as Civil Servants know that very well. A great scholar is not necessarily a good district officer and a good district officer may be a very poor scholar. At the same time it is most necessary that the Civil official especially in the junior grades should be very well up in the vernaculars. Our Government has always recognized that. In the old days there was in Calcutta an institution called the College of Fort William. It was passing away when I was a young man in Calcutta more than fifty years ago, and but a shadow of it remained. In those days Colonel Nassau Lees was the Secretary to the Board of Examiners. The young civilians were taught in their rooms by Indian Pandits and Munshees. I remember being examined in Hindi by that good man and good scholar Professor Krishna Mohan Lai nerjer. That system worked for a long time, and then Government considered that it would be better that there should be a careful study of the Grammar before the young man went out to India, and that after study at home he should be sent straight to his district, where in immediate contact with the people, he was able to pick up the colloquial very readily, and I am not sure that that, on the whole, is not the best plan, though I think the question requires very careful consideration as to what is now most advisable. The great importance of the official being at home in the vernacular cannot be denied. An intimate knowledge of the common language is a kind of key to the hearts of the people with whom he may come in contact, and a knowledge of a classical language, Arabic or Sanskrit or Persian gives a man a higher status and additional influence with the educated classes in the district in which he may be serving. Very often an apt quotation from a Hindi or Persian author in conversation will open the heart of a friend in a remarkable manner. I have now great pleasure in inviting discussion on the subject of the paper.

Mr PENNINGTON said the great difficulty they had in Madras was that there were so many languages, and officials were frequently transferred from one language to another, making it almost impossible to acquire a thorough knowledge of even one vernacular. To take his own case, for instance when he went to India he passed an elementary test in three languages—Telugu, Hindustani, and Tamil—and was sent to a Telugu district, in which language he might have become proficient after a residence

there of about three years, but he was then transferred to Tinnevely, where he had considerable difficulty in picking up Tamil. That was the one great drawback in Madras generally, that there were so many different languages.

Mr DUNCAN IRVINE said he thought Mr Pennington rather exaggerated the difficulty of the Madras languages. Personally, he had served in Madras and had never found any difficulty in talking to any of the natives, high or low, that he came across. It might be a little more difficult to talk to the speakers of high Tamil than to the ryot, but as far as his own experience went he was able, as a judge for many years, to examine a witness himself if necessary, or even to charge the jury, in the vernacular, and he did not think his was an exceptional case. He could hardly agree with the suggestion that a man who could address a native audience in the vernacular and who could make himself understood without an interpreter was at all a prodigy. He did not claim to be a prodigy, and he had no difficulty whatever in doing it. (Hear, hear)

The Rev Dr STANTON said he did not want to labour the questions which had been raised about the necessity of learning the language better. As a missionary examiner in Urdu and Punjabi, it had been one of his great difficulties to get men and women to give the necessary time and attention to the language, as against pressing claims of practical work. Even missionaries did not fully realize that without a mastery of the language one cannot get at the minds of its speakers. Further, he had always urged young candidates to live, as far as possible, amongst the people. One obstacle to familiar knowledge of the vernacular was that they were generally living in English households, and so failed to get into an Indian atmosphere.

Regarding the necessity for better language manuals for India, he emphatically supported the plea put forth by the lecturer. As an examiner in Urdu for the Cambridge Senior Local Standard he had repeatedly suggested, but as yet without effect, the provision of a standard grammar to be used in all the North Indian European schools. At present he found that boys and girls in certain schools failed to understand some of the grammatical terms used in the papers set, owing to the confusion of terminology between different books. This was unfair to the pupil and hampering to the examiner. If such books were to be compiled he would suggest that in addition to an English editor in each case there should certainly be also a qualified Indian (and in some cases, as of Urdu, both a Hindu and a Musalman) associated with him. If the vernacular were to be properly taught they must have qualified teachers acquainted with modern language methods, and for this they must have an adequate system of training.

The question of a common script was most important. The problem of mass education in India was coming rapidly to the front, and unless an easy unified script were provided for primary education much of the elementary instruction would be lost after school years owing to the low standard reached when most of the time had been expended on mere practise of script. The Japanese were thinking of reforming their complicated system of writing, and the Chinese had quite recently adopted an

alphabet of thirty nine letters which expressed all the words of the Chinese language in place of the thousands of ideograms now in use, and this alphabet was being adopted in all the Government schools in China

Finally, with regard to the books proposed, they should have regard to modern methods of language teaching. The modern method was built, not upon the sight of written characters but upon the sound of spoken words and sentences. It aimed at making whatever the learner acquired fully available from the very first for use in intercourse. (Hear, hear)

MR GRANT BROWN said he thought the Lecturer had not at all exaggerated either the importance of English officials in India having an intimate and accurate knowledge of the languages of the people among whom they worked, or the shortcomings in this respect of most of the officials of the present day. As the Chairman had said, the ablest administrator was not always the best linguist. Indeed, the ablest men were apt to be drafted into the secretariate, where they not only failed to learn to talk to the people, but acquired very little knowledge of their nature, their feelings and desires, their customs and their prejudices and this was to him a matter for regret. It was often said that British officials knew less of the native languages than they did. It was quite possible that the statements to this effect were exaggerated, and that in the old days a really intimate knowledge of the people and their languages was confined to a comparatively small number of men whose attainments were remembered, while the indifference of the rest was forgotten. So far as they were true, the chief cause was probably the want of leisure resulting from the great burden of office work now imposed upon officials. The lack of leisure, however, could be counterbalanced by the use of science. Every officer sent to India should, before leaving this country, receive a thorough training in the science of languages, and especially in the science of speech sounds. Such a training would equip him for acquiring any language with comparative ease and accuracy. His own experience was that, after learning the Burmese written language for two years, he was unable on landing in Burma to understand a single sentence spoken by a Burman or to make himself understood by him. That was the experience of others. Indeed he believed most of his contemporaries never learned to speak anything but a jumble of the written and spoken languages, which differed entirely from each other in the most important part of the vocabulary, the particles. The knowledge he had acquired of the written language was more a hindrance than a help to him, and he had had no ear training and therefore found it very difficult to learn the spoken language by ear.

As regards the proposed series of textbooks of spoken languages he wished to sound a note of warning. The plan of having a uniform framework and terminology might suit the Aryan languages, but it would not work with an analytical language like Burmese, the structure of which was totally different.

Mrs. A. M. T. JACKSON said the Chairman rather seemed to suggest that the study of languages was a voluntary thing, but certainly so far as she remembered in Bombay, the study of languages was compulsory amongst young officials. In her own personal experience when travelling about

with her husband, she found it was quite an exception for the officials to employ an interpreter under any circumstances. In fact, it was considered rather discreditable to do so, and young officials had to pass tests in the language of whatever part of the Presidency they were assigned to. They were compelled to pass the examinations before they received promotion.

Dr C B RAMA RAO said that he agreed with what had been said as to the written and spoken languages being very often quite different from one another. One may even acquire a scholarship in a language and yet not be able to take part in a homely conversation. The difficulty which Mr Pennington experienced in Southern India had been referred to. His name had nevertheless become a household word in the Tinnevely district, but he gathered that his accessibility and his sympathy acquired him that fame rather than his knowledge of the vernaculars. The tendency of the Britishers out in India to day was not conducive to popularity, because they preferred their own clubs in their leisure time, and English officers had scarcely time to speak to the people whom they had been sent out to govern. A great deal could be done if some attention was devoted to improving the relations between the Indians and the Englishman in India. He also wished to mention another point, but feared that probably his ideas might be considered too Utopian. While travelling on the steamer there were a large number of Indians on board but there were several to whom he could not speak in their own vernacular, although an Indian himself, speaking six Indian vernaculars. That was not a desirable state of things, and when historians came to write the achievements of the English people in India he hoped one of the greatest things to their credit would be the bringing together of North and South as one great people by one common language. There were many words in common between the two great vernaculars of India—viz, Urdu and Hindi—and it might be possible to unify these two languages, by a strong committee of the ruling princes and the representatives of the people, so as to avoid confusion and difficulty. Nothing was more desirable than a common script, and he would suggest the best was undoubtedly the (English) Roman characters, as it was well known all the world over (Hear, hear).

Sir KRISHNA GUPTA said the Lecturer had proceeded upon the assumption that there was a great want of sympathy between the Britisher who went to India and the people of India, and that that want of sympathy was mainly due to ignorance of Indian vernaculars, and he had been interested to see speaker after speaker plead guilty to the accusation. If those Britishers in India were inspired by sympathy surely they would find some means of trying to learn the language. For officers there was a sort of compulsory education in the vernaculars, but few of them afterwards kept up their requirements or tried to improve their knowledge of the languages, that may be due to want of sympathy, or to other causes, but on the other hand there were many distinguished English people who had done a great deal for the Indian languages, and Indians were deeply indebted to them for their great work. There was an old saying that you could bring a horse to the water, but you could not make him drink.

There were facilities for learning the languages but many did not take advantage of them, either because they did not realize the necessity or were too apathetic. If they really wished to improve the knowledge of Indian languages amongst administrators the best way would be to abolish English as the official language. In the old days undoubtedly officers had a better knowledge of the vernaculars but nowadays it was hardly so necessary to know them. There were several vernaculars spoken by large bodies of the people, and these would continue to exist and improve but no doubt every educated Indian should be familiar with English as a second language because they would carry him throughout the world. He wished to emphasize that they would not create sympathy merely by spreading a knowledge of the vernaculars, but sympathy must come from other sources, and if it was not really felt they could not artificially create it.

Lady KATHARINE STUART and Professor LICKLITON also spoke strongly in favour of Esperanto.

The LECTURER in reply said he did not mean to imply that all officials lacked knowledge of the vernaculars but simply that the general standard in the case of all Europeans was not high enough. With regard to Esperanto he understood there would shortly be a rival to Esperanto in India and he had no hesitation in saying it would be easier for Indians to learn than Esperanto. So far as examinations were concerned he knew they were compulsory and he did not think it necessary to mention it. Sir KRISHNA GUPTA had mentioned the question of sympathy which entirely depended on understanding and knowledge, and they could not get that without close contact with the people. The proper means of applying sympathy was the ability to talk freely and fluently to a native in his own language. (Hear hear.)

The CHAIRMAN said that friends like the Lecturer—Christian missionaries—had often become famous for their knowledge of the languages of India. He thought, with reference to certain remarks made, that a fair proportion of district officers could make a speech in the vernaculars. The discussion had been well kept up and the meeting was very much obliged to Mr. Darby for his interesting paper.

Dr. J. D. ANDERSON writes as follows:

I much regret that I was not able to be present at the discussion of the Rev. A. Darby's valuable and interesting paper. As I have been teaching Bengali in England for many years to men and women alike to Indians as well as to English people I may be allowed to make one or two suggestions. I will not waste time and space in commenting on the large part of Mr. Darby's paper with which I heartily agree, but will proceed at once to state my doubts and reservations.

1. The Cambridge University Press is printing a series of elementary Manuals of Modern Languages in which has already been included a little Manual of Bengali. The method adopted is to give a skeleton grammar, as concise and elementary as possible, followed by a varied and annotated selection of examples from prose and verse literature, with a copious and full vocabulary. The examples are all transliterated into the



script recommended by the Geneva committee of the Oriental Congress, now used by Orientalists all over the world. Teachers can, of course, easily supplement this by using the International Phonetic Association's script for those students who use their eyes to correct the evidence of their ears. Mr Knowles's system of transliteration might have been used instead of the Geneva script if scholars generally had adopted it. They have, so far, failed to do so.

2 I heartily support what Mr Darby says as to the value and potentiality of the London School of Oriental Studies, to whose generosity I am indebted for the publication of a pamphlet on the phonetics of Bengali. But Mr Darby might also have mentioned that Indian languages, classical and modern are studied at Oxford and Cambridge. We all wish success to the admirably conducted school in Finsbury Circus. But there is room also for Oriental Schools at the older universities, which might make larger use perhaps, of their considerable population of Indian graduates and undergraduates.

3 As to the proposed school in India, I may remind Mr Darby that the Indian Universities are now making a serious and scholarly study of the Prakrits and their offspring the modern languages of India. Why should not Europeans follow courses and take degrees in the new modern language schools in the Indian Universities?

4 As to the suggestion that the terminology of Indian grammar should be Anglicized and made conformable with that recently suggested by a Committee which reported on uniformity of grammatical terms, we must not forget that Indians were grammarians and phonologists long before Europeans studied these matters. Indian *Vyakaranas* repay careful study. Their conclusions may not always seem to us to be scientifically correct, but they have a psychological and literary value as showing the Indian's own view of his own forms, syntax and etymology. The attempt to apply European terminology to Indian grammatical facts produces a temptation to misunderstand or misdescribe the facts. An interesting example is a recent attempt by European grammarians to discover moods in Indian languages. Modal sense can be expressed in Indian tongues by various devices. But there are no modal inflexions. The passive voice in many Indian languages (to say nothing of the non-finite verb) has been misunderstood by many European writers on grammar, owing to an attempt to identify its working with that of the European passive. Surely we should, as far as possible, use Indian terminology, or a translation of it.

I hope these hasty criticisms will not be interpreted to imply a lack of sympathy with the object which Mr Darby has in view. What he desires, all teachers of Indian languages must needs desire. But we must not be pedantic or dogmatic about methods. After all, students and teachers differ in mentality, and a good teacher will readily change his way of teaching to suit a pupil who prefers a method which he finds easiest for himself. As for the Indian alphabets, Indians themselves will readily admit that the chief defect is the convention of the "inherent *a*" which has led to the invention (a trouble at once to the printer and to the reader's eye) of the "compound consonant". The addition of a symbol

for this, at present, unwritten letter would make Indian alphabets better than any in use in Europe *Laksmī*, for instance, might then be printed as

it is here given, and not, as Indian convention requires, as  $L\overset{k}{s}\overset{m}{i}$  Indian

alphabets are so much more nearly phonetic than ours that, if this trifling change were adopted, and one or two additional symbols (such as one for *w* in most languages) were added, the Indian scripts would hardly need to be transliterated at all

To this, Mr Darby writes

By way of reply to Dr. Anderson's sympathetic remarks on my paper, I regret that he was not present at the lecture, but his absence has this compensation that it has given me the opportunity to reply to the points raised more at leisure. I must first of all apologize for my failure to make quite clear that I had in mind a much larger unit than that which comprises those only who are able to avail themselves of such facilities as are provided for in England. My remarks throughout were coloured by the knowledge that there are many who ought to learn a vernacular but do not, because the requisite facilities are absent, and who require books of a kind which they cannot at present procure. Of the need of raising the standard all round I have already spoken sufficiently.

Since I was addressing an audience possessing much knowledge of the subject, I did not think it necessary to mention what all might be expected to remember, my time was limited and the clamant note of the tea bell frustrated my intention to take up points that might arise at a later stage. Not one, but many papers would be required to bring out all the factors of the problem which have to be considered and have actually been considered.

The essential considerations are that the need of better and more extended study of the vernaculars is pressing, so pressing indeed that one wonders if the day for it has not passed, the teachers are seldom good, and for many of the languages the available books are unsuitable. Those who have given attention to more than one vernacular must have learned the truth of this statement, and the number of my supporters would largely increase if those who know a vernacular could recall their early labours in a vivid way. My point is not destroyed by the existence of some good books, I speak of the situation generally.

I am glad to hear of the proposals of the Cambridge University Press, but trust that the description of the methods followed is incomplete, or I am afraid the sales will disappoint the promoters.

The Indian Universities are aiming to encourage the study of the vernaculars, a study which is comparatively neglected even in the secondary schools, but the students to be catered for are those who already know the languages for practical purposes better than an Englishman can ever hope to do. This study, of course, includes the Prakrits, but this is not what the newcomer to India requires. In Bombay at least the courses of study must be gone through in a regular manner and include much else. An adult may be asked to spend six months at a language school, to give all his time to one study, he can hardly be asked to take a two years' course

at the University What he actually wants is taught in the Primary Schools

Regarding the section of my paper devoted to the subject of transliteration, I would say that I took up the larger question of a universal alphabet for India because of its prominence at the present time For my own needs what is required is a Romanic alphabet for purposes of utility in the making of books for learners Under present conditions familiarity with the vernacular character is essential and the vernacular alphabet must form the basis of the work I want a simple system by aid of which the sounds can be taught, and which will assist the student in his first attempts to decipher the complicated native characters It will also be useful for purposes of reference and in other ways, and valuable results can be obtained by its use The actual system adopted is not a matter of serious consequence, but it should not exhibit a number of diacritical points, nor should it be such as to prejudice Indians irrecoverably, as I am afraid the International would do, owing to its heterogeneous appearance I still think the principle adopted by Mr Knowles is the soundest one to follow and the easiest to learn even if the application may be bettered

So far as a phonetic system is concerned, the Sanskrit is amply good enough and I merely want an equivalent sign for sign If a study of phonetics is desirable, let it begin with a system which is still very much alive, and which underlies the vernaculars more thoroughly than any can be said to underlie English or French Minor modifications are for specialists, not for the general student

The situation with regard to terminology is somewhat similar I want a fixed system just so far as it will facilitate the work of learning, teaching and reference, and I should wish it to conform as far as possible to the decisions of experts Circumlocution and explanation are needless labour when well defined terms are available The real difficulty here lies in present conceptions of grammar So long as it is treated as a formal science, certain arguments, frequently heard, have weight when it is treated as a logical explanation of the elements required to express a judgment in the form of a proposition many of these arguments lose their cogency It is not perhaps so clearly understood as it ought to be that the elements of sentence structure are essential to all human speech, and must be present to the mind of speaker and hearer even if they are not expressed It helps the student if these elements are isolated and made clear, and not hidden away in a mass of cross divisions I cannot here go into the matter, but would refer those who may desire to consider this point to my book 'The Mechanism of the Sentence' published by the Oxford University Press, wherein I have tried to show why the Indian languages do not exhibit the moods of English My own impression is that Indians have neglected the study of sentence form in favour of phonetics and etymology, they certainly have failed in some degree to distinguish mood from tense, the adjective of action from the noun of action, the active from the passive, although these distinctions undoubtedly exist and are readily understood by Indians when pointed out We may remind ourselves that we are not catering for Indians but

for Englishmen, who will reach an understanding most readily through what is familiar, if they thereby learn to express themselves aright no harm is done, the point is to get them to do this as quickly and as intelligently as possible

The mentality of the student is, of course, a very important factor in education, but a book must be the exponent of some one system if it is to be a success and a consistent performance, and when it is designed for beginners it must not assume a knowledge yet to be gained, and it must lead on by clear and logically consecutive steps. It is for the teacher to supply the necessary adaptation, if he can

I trust Dr. Anderson will forgive me if I say that in his concluding remarks regarding the Indian alphabets he seems to transfer the merits of the Sanskrit phonetic system to the characters employed to convey it. The symbols are conventional and may mean anything, as a comparison of Gurmukhī with Sanskrit will show. It can hardly be contended that they are simple or well defined in many of the languages

I take this opportunity to thank those who, by their kindly criticisms, have suggested much that is helpful. If I cannot always see eye to eye with them, I trust it will be understood that my critics do not agree among themselves, and that my failure to please is due to my being in search of a relative accuracy, a presentation which is true so far as it goes, *but does not pretend to scientific completeness*. I am fresh from direct contact with the many factors which necessitate compromise in various directions, and every compromise will arouse criticism if one cannot explain exactly why it is made

## A GERMAN ON INDIA

By STANLEY RICE, I.C.S. (RETIRED)

WE all know now that long before the war Germany had been nourishing a deadly hatred of England, which was born of jealousy and nursed into maturity by every conceivable means. England to the Germans was the robber State which appropriated all parts of the globe, trampled under foot all the nations and peoples who had the misfortune to fall under her rule. It was the part of the upright, disinterested Germany to deliver the world from the common oppressor, it was the German Siegfried who was to crush the English Fafner. We had gone into India with the Bible in one hand and the opium pipe in the other, by our gross materialism we had extinguished all the glamour of the immemorial East. So self evident was all this that it was superfluous to ask whether Germany had anything better to offer. That we had introduced peace and order into India, that the people were for the most part content with our rule, that we had developed our colonies in a manner unapproached by other nations—these were nothing to the controversialists to whom facts were negligible and political capital was everything.

I suppose it may be taken as axiomatic that a man will tell the truth when there is no object in lying, and it may therefore be of interest to consider for a few minutes what a German professor has said about India. The lecture, which is entitled "Modern India," was delivered to a scientific society in Berlin called, I think, *Die Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, and it was published only in the

journal of that society. It could not, therefore, have been intended for popular consumption in Germany, still less was it meant to appeal to anyone in England, for it may be doubted whether there are a hundred Englishmen who have ever seen it. The lecturer was Professor Wegener, who toured India in 1911 with the Crown Prince and afterwards became the war correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette* during the war. He had, of course exceptional opportunities of seeing things for himself and he examines the various problems with characteristic German thoroughness though of course he could only see things as most travellers do from a single standpoint—in his case the official.

The first thing that struck this German critic of our Indian Empire was that 'England herrscht wirklich'! "England really rules not only in name as Holland does in so many parts of her colonial possessions in further India, and not by compromise. Every traveller through India has felt that the English power is active in the most outlying parts of the country. This power is not apparent according, he says to German notions it is felt rather than seen, but he seems to imply that it is far more effective than the terrorist methods of Germany in South West Africa.

For he acknowledges handsomely that England is the past master, and Germany only the disciple in colonization. "Think what you will of the English, no one can deny that they are the most experienced and most successful colonists in the world. We, too, possess tropical colonies, and have to learn as colonial beginners. He is in fact, greatly impressed with this peculiar faculty of the English. He speaks in another place of the "quite extraordinary genius for administration which is peculiar to the English as it was formerly to the Romans. Their greatest gift is not their business capacity, in that they have rivals but they are unrivalled in their instinctive ability for organization and government.' And it is worth while remarking

that this capacity is expressed in the composition of the Services, and especially of the Civil Service, for that particular body has of late come in for as much unmerited abuse in certain quarters as in former times it was wont to receive praise perhaps as unmerited. The Civil Service is not composed of the *élite* of England the best men are very able, and the worst do not fall below a fairly high standard. It does its heavy and responsible work loyally and generally efficiently and if it does not deserve extravagant eulogies, neither can it fairly be described, as a recent writer has described it, as a set of well meaning but unsympathetic carpet-baggers, who, "alike in their work or in their pleasure, keep as far aloof from the people they govern as possible" 'white young bureaucrats who decline to associate on equal terms with 'men of ancient lineage. The Professor belongs to the former rather than the latter class—the class of those who praise not of those who blame. In his view, the Civil Service is composed of young men who come out in the freshest physical and intellectual capacity for work, and the work they have to do gives them 'the opportunity to develop the unique talent of their race for organization and government. The officers of the Civil Service show the Englishman at his best, and he "recognizes with admiration what a wealth of devotion, of duty solemnly performed, of integrity and love for the people entrusted to them, is rendered by these men cast often into lonely, hot and feverish places."

I am not in the least concerned to defend the Civil or any other Service from attack, or to quote the Professor triumphantly as a witness to the greatness of our administration in India. Perhaps he would have been more interesting had he found more fault, and in that case he would certainly not have been the less worthy our attention, *perhaps, too, he was influenced by kindly memories of pleasant hospitalities received.* At any rate, viewing the matter as dispassionately as we can we see here a member

of a nation which not even a casuist could call friendly, reviewing our Indian Empire as a whole, and finding that, as a whole, it is good. Bernhardt, with a political axe to grind, writing from a study in Germany, tells his countrymen that England is the robber State, and that "Germany, no less than England, is dowered with the genius for Empire", Wegener, after studying India at first hand, whispers to a small, scientific audience that the English are the greatest colonists in the world, and India is her most magnificent colony and, lest there should be any doubt that he is confusing fact with principle he adds not once but several times that England has a capacity for organization and government unrivalled by any other nation. We have heard so often of the inestimable benefits of British rule and the excellence of our British administration or if we turn to the critics of the opposite school we are presented with such a sombre picture of misgovernment, of indifference, of selfish exploitation of India of alienation of the Indians, that it cannot be without value to listen with proper detachment to the opinions of a German professor.

He summarizes in two short paragraphs the benefits which England has conferred on India, and the advantages which India has for England—material benefits for the most part—railways, and posts and telegraphs irrigation, and an ordered system of justice on the one part a great market for trade, raw materials and a supply of labour on the other. But he considers that the greatest gift which England has had to offer India is the creation of a pure and unselfish public spirit, the example of a spotless service for the common weal. And India's value for England lies pre-eminently in the opportunity she offers to the "able sons of an energetic race" to develop a capacity for resolution and responsibility, and the satisfaction of a manly ambition. May we not put this appraisal on broader lines? May we not say that the greatest gift which each has for the other is a general widening of outlook? Con-



tact with the West has broken down the ring fence which the caste system and the devotion to ancient decrees had erected round India, has roused her to a vision of her political position in the world, and has awakened an interest hitherto unknown in the affairs and in the doings of other nations. And it has aroused—some would put this first, others may not regard it as altogether a blessing—it has aroused a sense of national unity. The dawn of nationality is just beginning to brighten after the long night of India's isolation and India's sleep. And for us, too, India has its lesson. Time was—for some perhaps still is—when we regarded the Indian people as groping in the darkness of what we were pleased to call heathenism and idolatry. Time was—for some perhaps still is—when we looked askance upon this civilization, and were content to thank God that we are not as other men are. A closer acquaintance has shown us a real and living religion, the object of passionate devotion to millions, expressing itself sometimes in thoughts which would not be out of place in the New Testament, has shown us a civilization which has produced profound thinkers, earnest men and loving and faithful wives. That is the gift which India gives us. Some have not received it, others would deny its existence, but it is there all the same, and by the light of that revelation we may increase our charity, we may learn that "truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established without the aid of our particular religion and our particular civilization, and may more clearly distinguish the beam in our own eye when we discern the mote or motes in the eyes of Indians.

The Professor recognizes the "sure instinct" which has led us, as it led the Romans, to adopt the attitude of religious toleration, or, as we should prefer to say, religious neutrality. He ascribes this attitude to the lessons we have learned in the past (and especially to the lesson of the Mutiny) and to our fear of similar catastrophes. Some missionaries appear to have told him that in their dread of seeming to favour

Christians, the officers of justice are inclined to go to the other extreme and to favour the heathen, or as we should say the non-Christian, unduly. And he instances further our handling of the plague as evidence of our extreme sensitiveness in religious matters. We had attacked this problem with "wonderful energy", we had adopted all the measures then known to science, we had imported reinforcements of doctors and nurses. But signs began to appear that the people resented the inevitable interference with their private life and with those customs that have almost become a part of their religion, and in fear of disaffection, if not of actual rebellion, the Government of India stayed its hand, with, of course, disastrous results. This is true, but surely it is not the whole truth. The policy of religious neutrality is one of the pillars of good and orderly government, not only in India but everywhere else. In India, where religion is a living, pulsating passion, that pillar is all the more important. You cannot force a people to accept a measure which interferes with something they hold dearer than life. What would have happened in England if the people had held their individual liberty dearer than the national safety and had refused conscription? Individual liberty has always been regarded as the dearest possession of an Englishman, and we know with what caution the Military Service Act was introduced. And here was something higher and greater than mere policy. For we have recognized the principle that no man should suffer for his opinions: that the two great religions of India are the very soul of the people who profess them, and that to sacrifice this principle to administrative necessities however imperious would be to shake the foundations of British justice on which so largely we base our Empire.

Surely, too, the Professor is in error when he attributes to the doctrine of "Maya" a certain apathy in political affairs. This doctrine is the outcome of a philosophy which teaches that the external world is all illusion and that the spiritual

world is the only reality, but like so many other philosophical doctrines it exists rather in theory than in practice. If it be true that the Indian "smiles at those who take so much trouble about such trifles" as politics and government, "and leaves it all to them," why does he clamour for self-government, for equality, for better recognition, and the rest? Why does he insist upon more extended education and more industrial training? Why does he trouble about his rice-fields and his litigation? The truth is that until very recently the Indian was content to acquiesce in a system which left to the European the task of administration and government. As Indians were gradually admitted to posts of responsibility and acquitted themselves honourably in them, the country awoke to the consciousness that Indians could compete in the same field with Europeans. The lecture was delivered, it is true, before the present phase of Indian politics had developed, but after the unrest of 1907-08 and it is difficult to understand why the lecturer should have discovered a political apathy due to "Maya, in the face of such an obviously political movement.

The Professor has great admiration for the system of justice which we have established, but apparently regards it as sometimes too elaborate and too academic for the needs of the country. We give, for example, too much protection to the usurer, for in the old days, if he pressed too hardly for his money, the debtor would have struck him dead, and "then," says the Professor quaintly, "he would have to be rather careful." Let me add also that we sometimes give too much protection to the debtor in our scrupulous avoidance of all that might seem unfair, a distinguished judge has remarked that "the troubles of a litigant begin when he has obtained his decree," so many are the ways in which the law permits practical justice to be circumvented or at least delayed in execution. But it is in the sphere of trade that the lecturer thinks we have shown the greatest weakness. The decline of Indian manufactures, coupled with the great increase of popula-

tion, has caused an ever-growing pressure on the soil and has thereby lowered the standard of living. His view is characteristically German, however. England has flooded India with machine-made goods; but she is an industrial country and it is therefore "in the nature of things" that she cannot allow India to compete with her, but on the contrary must insist on developing her great dependency as a market for her own goods. The Government have, he says, made some half-hearted attempts to revive native industries, but he regards the whole question as insoluble. It is not possible within the limits of this paper to discuss the whole complicated question of the decline of native industries. There have been, we know, certain efforts made to protect English trade against Indian competition, and the nervousness with which Lancashire lately received the abolition of the countervailing cotton duties shows that that spirit is not entirely dead. I do not know that we who love India are particularly proud of that attitude, nor does it seem to be shared by the Government of India or by the Home authorities. But when all is said and done, it is the introduction and development of machinery to which the decline of Indian industries must be ascribed, for handicrafts cannot in the long run compete with machinery, be the policy Free Trade or Protection. You may tinker with policies and tariffs, but the best chance India has of regaining her lost trade, possibly at the expense of artistic output, is to develop her factories and to learn to make her own machines.

The Professor reserves his most trenchant criticism for the educational system. Sir Valentine Chirol has called the educational policy "a more arduous experiment even than that of governing the 300 millions of India with a handful of Englishmen. Many nations have conquered remote dependencies inhabited by alien races, imposed their laws upon them and held them in peaceful subjection, though even this has never been done on the same scale of magnitude as by the British rulers of India. We alone

have attempted to educate the Indians in our own literature and science and to make them by education the intellectual partners of the civilization that subdued them" The Professor agrees and considers that at first the results were most encouraging. The best brains flocked to the new education, learned "the liberal ideas of the West," and became "enthusiastic friends of England" But after a time the lower strata sought this new education, teachers became more difficult to find, and as a body deteriorated Thereupon the education began to degenerate, a half-educated class grew up, fit for nothing but to scramble for the broken meats of Government employment Dissatisfaction arose, men found that the education on which they had perhaps spent their all, profited them nothing and they were faced with destitution Of course there is nothing new in this, we have all heard it scores of times and many of us have seen it Does not the interest lie rather in the point of view? There is something analogous to it in Germany itself, where, Price Collier tells us, crowds of men, qualified by examinations, are awaiting the chance of employment With this difference, however, that while Germany is plagued with the superfluity of the efficient, India suffers from the surplus of the inefficient That is the Professor's touchstone—efficiency, and tested by that we have not succeeded The Anglo Saxon would take another view He would argue that a literary education turns out youths by the hundred who take their place not without credit in the various walks of life, if therefore you apply the same methods, you obtain the same results, and the result to be aimed at is the formation of character India, however, is a country of surprises You add two and two in the confident expectation that they will make four Not a bit of it, they will make three and a half or five, or two and a half—anything but four And so the system which turns out of our public schools our soldiers, our merchants, our priests, our Civil Service, only suffices to provide men crammed to the throat for the passing of examina-

tions, of whom those only can survive who have stomachs to digest. The Indian's virtues are an immense patience, an infinite capacity for taking pains, and a faculty for acquiring book knowledge which almost amounts to a snare; but he is not usually observant, he is not usually inventive, and he is unaccustomed to responsibility. In a word, if one may generalize, the Indian is more brilliant, but the Englishman more solid.

Farther on we are told that one of our greatest dangers is a "Hindu reaction against Western culture and its followers." There is "a passionate propaganda for a return to the old gods." It amounts to "the whole revolt of the Oriental nature against the European," and the leading spirits are "the Brahmans, who see their age-long empire over the Indians called in question by modern ideas." It is true that about the time when the lecture was delivered there was some kind of spasmodic attempt to set Hinduism up against Western culture, but I cannot think that the Professor has read the signs aright. India's one chance of taking her place in the world is to assimilate Western science and Western culture and to adapt them to her own institutions, he who would try to check her on the career on which she has started would be in the position of Julian. If she were again to sleep the sleep of Brunnhilde, some Siegfried would arise to deliver her from that lethargy. For the reaction is said to be, not against any Western religion but against Western culture. We may believe—many of us do believe—that the Hindu will continue to worship the old gods in the old way, and I for one do not blame them. But to substitute the Shastras and the Laws of Manu for the machinery of everyday life in the office, in the Law Courts, in the factory, or in the study is to set the clock back a few centuries. You might as well try to govern England by the Book of Leviticus.

On the whole the German survey of our Indian Empire is entirely favourable and even eulogistic. In the direction of trade revival he certainly seems to insinuate that the policy of the Government could and should have been more

thorough, not only for the sake of supporting the industries themselves, but also in order to relieve the pressure on the land. Where we have partially failed in other respects, he is inclined to attribute the failure to unforeseen and even to inevitable causes. Thus the principles of our justice sometimes cause injustice, the increase of population, itself the evidence of successful government, has brought with it its own complications, the suppression of the plague was thwarted by religious susceptibilities. It must be borne in mind—and the fact may discount his conclusions—that the Professor was on the staff of the ex-Crown Prince, and was therefore in touch mainly if not entirely with the higher officials of the State, and perhaps also only with those Indians whom it was thought desirable that he should meet. He could not have seen intimately the life of the people such as many of us know it. But neither was he in the position of some of our critics who fortify themselves with the literature of their own side and with little else, in order to prove their preconceived theory that our rule is entirely bad, vicious, and mischievous. We know that there are mistakes each individual amongst us probably has some pet criticism of his own, but it is not un instructive to hear what a German has said even if he be not altogether unbiassed, even if his knowledge is incomplete. Professor Usher of Washington University, has asked ‘What has England given to India which the Germans could not have given equally well?’ and our Professor supplies the answer. Not railways, not telegraphs, not irrigation, not even justice and education. These might have been given by Germany, but the experience of the greatest colonizing nation, the unique capacity of the English, as he puts it, for organization and government—these things Germany could not have given, because they were not hers to give, and the Professor closes his lecture by declaring himself opposed to those Germans who would like to see England’s power in India exploded, and by expressing the hope that England may long maintain the Empire which she has so well and worthily established.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, November 17, 1919, when a paper was read by Stanley P. Rice, Esq., I.C.S., entitled, "A German on India." Harold Cox, Esq., occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: Sir C. Sankaran Nair, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. M. de P. Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., and Mrs. Webb, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Major General Count A. Cherep Spiridovitch, Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. John C. Nicholson, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. E. B. Havell, Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Cook, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Lady Jacob, Lady Katharine Stuart, Captain P. S. Cannon, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Mrs. Meyer, Miss Leach, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. W. Frank, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. K. Gauba, Colonel and Mrs. Aplin, Captain H. J. Inman, Rev. H. U. W. Stanton, Colonel Bruce Kingsmill, Mr. S. A. Khan, Mr. B. V. Jadhav, Mr. B. D. Muthu, Mr. H. M. Gibbs, Mr. F. Pratt, Mrs. Debar, Mrs. Collis, Mr. W. Carter, Mr. S. C. Evans Williams, Mr. D. L. Patwardhan, Rev. W. L. Broadbent, Mr. Ramachandra Rau, Mr. K. P. Kotval, Major Taylor, Mr. W. F. Dingwall, Mr. R. Grant Brown, Mrs. Hazell, Lieut. Colonel C. L. Swaine, I.M.S. (retired).

The paper was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I need hardly say how much we have enjoyed Mr. Rice's paper. (Hear, hear.) I think most of us will agree with nearly all of it. My own criticisms are almost entirely confined to the question of the countervailing cotton duties. I know that Lancashire is very much blamed for the attitude she has taken up with regard to this question. Let us frankly admit, from the business point of view, it was purely selfish, but I would like to ask whether, from an imperial point of view, it was a wrong attitude. Mr. Rice has assumed that the only interest involved was that of the Indian manufacturer. I submit that there was another and much larger interest involved—namely, the interest of the Indian consumer. And I cannot see that there was anything wrong in England insisting that the interest of the Indian consumer should be considered as well as that of the Bombay manufacturer. After all, India is a very poor country. The men do not use much clothing, it is true, but the women use a fair amount. They are all poor people. Is it right that they should be taxed to swell the profits of a handful of Bombay manufacturers? That is what it really comes to. I remember once putting it to a wealthy Bombay manufacturer: "Think of all these millions of people in India, they will all be taxed in order to increase your profits." What do you think his answer was? "They are only



common people they do not matter" Under the old system, when the Indian manufacturer was put on a parity with the Lancashire manufacturer in order that there should be fair play to the Indian consumer, was the Indian cotton trade in such a bad condition? I remember going over a big mill in India, and they showed me their balance sheet for the last thirty years. The average dividend had been 35 per cent. That does not look as if they wanted favourable tariffs to bolster them up. Therefore I submit that this question of the countervailing cotton duties cannot be settled by merely drawing a contrast between Lancashire and Bombay. You have also to take into account the vast majority of people in India who want their clothing cheap. I entirely agree with what Mr Rice said—that, after all, the important question is not tariffs. On both sides people exaggerate the importance of tariffs. The important question is the development of the country. That is now taking place in India, and you have big industries springing up throughout a considerable part of India. Whether it is good or bad it is hard to say, but looking at our own gigantic manufacturing towns one wonders whether the rest of the world are going to imitate their example. On the other hand the Indian peasant, living all the year round in his little village, has probably a better time than his brother who spends three quarters of the year at least stifled in Bombay. However, that is a thing which is on the knees of the gods.

I imagine, although Mr Rice did not expressly say so, that underlying his paper is the consideration of what the future Government of India is going to be, and therefore I think he was perfectly justified in taking an impartial picture of the past, such as a German critic could present. The future of the Government of India is not on the knees of the gods, but on the knees of Mr Montagu—perhaps not an altogether desirable substitute. When people put forward their demand for changes in the Government of India on the ground that in the past the Government has been bad, I think they spoil their case. If they put it forward on the ground that the mental atmosphere of India is changing, as it is all over the world, and that institutions must be changed to meet that alteration in the mental atmosphere, I think that argument is a sound one, but to base it, as people in India do, and also people nearer home in Ireland, on abuse of what has taken place in the past seems to me to be an altogether unsound method of argument, and in the main entirely mischievous. (Hear, hear.) I do not propose to discuss Mr Montagu's schemes here, I only wish to point out this—that Englishmen in India have accomplished a gigantic task. We have enabled people who had previously no conception whatever of what we call self government to imbibe that conception, at any rate to a certain extent—possibly 5 per cent of the population. That is a very great accomplishment. Let us be careful that we do not, in the hope of getting to that new world which our politicians are so fond of picturing, scrap all the good that we have placed to our record in the world behind us. (Loud applause.)

Major General Count A. CHEREF SPIRIDOVITCH said that he was editor of a newspaper, *Slavia*, in Moscow during the Bolshevik time, so that he knew what revolution meant. After thirty-six years of very close

study of foreign policy, he had arrived at the conclusion that India had greatly benefited by the British brains. In order to avoid wars, in his opinion, the easiest and surest way would be to influence at least three-quarters of the world by British brains. The fears that Russia had designs on India were absolutely groundless. Russia had *never* sought to supplant the British in India, and never would, unless Bolshevism remained, which he hoped it would not. Bolshevism has made nobody happy, except criminals released from prisons. Bolshevism destroys everything, rebuilds nothing, and can exist only on old resources until they are exhausted. It is plunder, robbery, forgery and murder. Having heard at many Hindoo meetings some speakers, like Commander Kenworthy, M P, who raised false hopes among the Hindoos that the Russians might help the revolutionists in India, the General thought it his *sacred duty* to give the most categorical denial to those statements as absolutely false. The Hindoos must know that the chief point of Bismarck's and the Kaiser's policy was not to permit the Anglo-Russian alliance. That is why the Germans spread in the British Empire a lie—that Russia covets India. Some four million Germans always live in Russia, and simulating a devotion to the dynasty, they reached very high situations, which enabled them to influence the Press and all the place hunters and opportunists. However, their great efforts to enroot in Russia a desire of conquering or "freeing" India met with the most decisive refusals. And in future it will be still less possible. The chief secret of it is that the Russians themselves were, and are, the sincerest admirers of British administrative talent, and would like the same régime to be established in Russia. The Hindoos should understand that their neighbours, the Jews, have regained Palestine, from which they can exploit mercilessly such a rich country as India. The Jews know also that British governors would protect the Hindoos to the utmost, and therefore the Jews would like to see Great Britain's failure. The Jews know well that they could extract from the Hindoos all their resources only by dismembering the Indian Empire. "*Divide et impera*" That is why the Jews persuade the Hindoos towards a revolution, and assure them that the Jews are also an Asiatic nation, and "oppressed" as the Hindoos are. All this is a diabolical manoeuvre, which must be greatly apprehended.

The Russians love the Hindoos, and therefore would like to prevent them from being deserted by Britain, which would plunge India into an ocean of blood, famine and mire. The late Russian author Leonid Andreieff wrote "The Russians believe in Englishmen as in God." Being President of the Anglo-Latino-Slav League, the General hoped that the 200 million Slavs and the 150 or 200 million Latins in Europe and in three Americas will soon understand that the only way to prevent wars, with all their calamitous consequences, is to be led by British brains. An American thinker and expert, Mr. C. W. Barron, writes "The Englishman is not outclassed in mental and physical balance by any nation on the earth." The Hindoos must know that all the leaders of the Russian revolution, like Professor Milukoff, Tchaikowsky, Burtzeff, etc., honestly and publicly recognized that the former Imperial régime in

Russia was a real paradise on earth in comparison with what was brought by the revolution. My sixty odd forecasts (*vide the Christian Commonwealth*) having been realized, I can foretell the greatest unheard-of upheaval in India in case she should start a revolution. I always sign my name under my forecast, and do it willingly under this one, sure that I shall never be contradicted by the facts.

Mr B. V. JADHAV, M.A., LL.B. (of Kolhapur), acknowledged the great debt of India to England. England had given them the idea of nationality and the idea of co-partnership. English education and English government had made these things accessible to them. He was glad that Indian people were taking advantage of them and improving their conditions, and under the new laws he was hopeful that great strides would be made. With regard to the countervailing duties, it seemed to him that the profits would go into the pockets of the mill owners, whereas they ought to go into the pockets of the Government. They would then be used for the public benefit, which would be better than their being used to swell the profits of the mill owners. The labouring classes were very much trodden down by the mill and factory owners, and therefore, if the Government of India gave their attention to the miseries of the labouring people, it would be much appreciated. They had to work long hours in the mills, their physical condition was deteriorating, consumption was making great strides, and therefore it was the duty of the Government to devote its attention to the amelioration of these conditions. He advocated a tax on the mill-owners in the shape of an excess profits tax. The well-being of their operatives ought to be a charge on the profits of the mill-owners. They must endeavour to avoid the mistakes that had been made in other countries. He was grateful to the great British Empire for what they had done for India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr PRAIT said he wished to approach the much-debated question of the countervailing duties from a somewhat different point of view. The Chairman had said they ought to concentrate their attention upon the interests of the Indian consumer, but he was unable to see how the goods would be made any cheaper to the consumer by the imposition of a countervailing excise duty which would *pro tanto* increase the cost of production for the Indian manufacturer and make it more difficult for him to compete with the Lancashire manufacturer, whereas, if there were no countervailing duty it was obvious that the Indian manufacturer could put a cheaper article on the market. It therefore appeared to him that the Indian consumer would be better off without the countervailing duty.

Lady KATHARINE STUART said it was perplexing to know where the truth lay when observers saw us so differently. On the one hand, German criticism accused us of inefficiency in certain respects, upon the other Monsieur Spiridovitch desired to place the whole world under British administration. Perhaps she would be expressing the feelings of those present if she responded that they felt that where they had lacked efficiency it was when they had failed to illustrate Christian ideals, and where they, under Divine blessing, had succeeded, it was when they had realized and

demonstrated their God, as Self-revealed to them, the Good Physician and the Great Shepherd of all Folds. The League of Nations had done splendid service in co ordinating the Red Cross centres and pooling its resources, and if this method were extended to the other needs of humanity it might be the beginning of better things for Russia and the whole world, the resources of the whole and prosperous being *willingly* placed at the disposal of the sick and needy, which was the Christian ideal of civilization.

Mr RAMACHANDRA RAO, referring to the lecturer's remarks with regard to Brahminism, said that although the influence of Brahminism was not so great as formerly, no decent Brahmin desired it to resume its old power, but wished to do his best to meet modern requirements.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and Gentlemen, before asking the Lecturer to reply, I should like to say a word or two more about the countervailing duties, because one of the gentlemen who has spoken did not quite follow my argument. If you have a customs duty levied on imported goods only, without any countervailing duty on home made goods, the vendor of home made goods will charge the same price for them as is charged for the imported goods, plus the duty. The consumer pays the duty in both cases. But in the case of the imported goods the Government gets the duty paid by the consumer, whereas in the case of the goods made at home the private manufacturer gets the duty and puts it in his pocket. Every Government has to raise revenue to meet its expenditure, and if the Government uses its power to tax the general body of the community in order to put a special profit into the hands of one group of manufacturers it has to raise further revenue elsewhere. In other words, the mass of the people are taxed first to enhance the profit of the private manufacturers, and then they are taxed again for the general purposes of government expenditure. Therefore it seems to me that, from the point of view of fair play, it is right that any tax on imported goods should be counter vailed by a corresponding tax on home made goods.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that very few of us understood Mr Rice to criticize Brahminism at all. I think the keynote of his remark was that, while England had rendered many services to India, India had rendered many services to England by showing how the Indian religious idea might be of advantage to the world. (Applause)

The LECTURER, replying to the criticisms on his paper, said he would like to suggest a possible modification of what the Chairman had said regarding the Indian consumer. A countervailing duty meant practically Free Trade, and raised the question as to the propriety of protecting infant industries. It was true that the cotton industry in India had been going on since 1860, but there was an admitted need for the growth of the industry. The great need was for machinery. He agreed with the Chairman that it might be a doubtful blessing, because they did not want to turn all their smiling ricefields and waving coconuts into stacks of smoke blackened chimneys, neither did they want to turn the healthy life of the villages into the more or less stifled life of the towns. The standard of living called for improvement, but the Indians would not do much in that

direction for themselves. As regards the price of cloth, the majority of the Indians in Madras did not wear mill manufactured cloths, though it might be different in other parts of India. In Madras nine tenths of the inhabitants would be found to be wearing ordinary handloom made cloths made by the weavers in their own villages, and it was only the Brahmins who wore the English cloth. The truth was that the countervailing duties on cotton had been regarded simply as a great grievance, and the Indian Government had been very sympathetic towards Indian opinion on the subject. Indians could not help feeling that the effect of these duties was to sacrifice India to Lancashire. As in the case of volunteering, it was not so much the question of revenue or profits or of the position of the consumer to which Indians were looking as the removal of this grievance.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the Chairman and the Lecturer, and the proceedings terminated.

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### EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

*It has been proposed to present a testimonial to Dr Pollen for his services to this Association. Readers of the "Asiatic Review" are invited to send subscriptions (limited to £1) to the Secretary, East India Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S W 1. The list will be closed in March.*

STANLEY RICE,  
*Hon Secretary*

## WAR AND POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS IN PERSIA

BY C. A. WALPOLE, O B E

Now that Persia has at last determined to put her house in order and develop her undoubtedly large natural resources, railways must come at no distant date. That a railway connecting Central Persia with the Persian Gulf, and thereby short circuiting the present enormously round-about and expensive route via Baghdad and the River Tigris, or even the contemplated lorry and rail route to *the Mediterranean via the Baghdad Railway*, is of primary importance, there can be no doubt, and that such a line should at the same time tap the fertile district of the Karun Valley would seem equally desirable. As already stated, and as can be seen by a glance at a map, the alignment Mohammerah Dizful presents no great difficulties. This alignment was surveyed in detail by the Persian Railways Syndicate on behalf of the Persian Government as long ago as 1913, and a reconnaissance of the country northward as far as Khoramabad and Hamadan was also made. The maps here show the country as extremely mountainous, but as a matter of fact, by following certain valleys and gorges, a good and perfectly feasible alignment was found, which it was the intention at once to survey in detail, had not war interrupted the Persian Railways Syndicate's operations. Such a line, besides serving the Karun Valley and the grain-producing districts around Dizful, Jerrahi, etc., would tap one of the highest and most fertile parts of Persia—namely, the country round Burujird and Kermanshah, and enable the produce therefrom to be

shipped to the Gulf at a cost even less than that of the grain shipped from Bombay or Karachi. It has been said by some that there is a convenient outlet for the produce of Central Persia via Baghdad to the Persian Gulf, but this is not so. The freight by this route to-day from, say, Hamadan to Basrah would, at the very least, amount to £10 per ton—which is more than the normal price of wheat delivered in this country, but by a direct railway to the Gulf it would not amount to more than £2 or £3 per ton—a rate which compares favourably with the cost of rail transport of much of the grain shipped from India. Moreover, railways are a necessity for efficient administration, and for the economical distribution of oil and other merchandise, and also for the development of industries generally both for internal consumption and for export.

In Southern and Central Persia, at any rate, fuel is practically non-existent, the little there is being wood collected from the scrubby growth along the Karun and Diz rivers, a purely local supply and insufficient even for local requirements, beside being prohibitive in cost. For the proper development of agricultural and commercial industries, a cheap and plentiful supply of fuel is, of course, essential, and in this respect Nature has come to the rescue of Persia with oil. The transportation of oil by caravan is, needless to say, most expensive, both in the cost of transport and in the heavy leakage consequent upon this method of carriage, nor is distribution by lorry or cart any more satisfactory in either of these respects—leakage frequently amounting to as much as 8 per cent. Transportation by rail is far cheaper than either and much more satisfactory, as has been proved in India, where leakage, even with two transshipments, only averages about  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

It has been suggested by some that a good motor-lorry service from, say, Isfahan to the Persian Gulf is all that is required to bring about the much-desired commercial and industrial development of Persia, and there are even some people who profess to consider that the present caravan

system is sufficient for the purpose. I would like to take this opportunity of insisting most emphatically, on the basis of my extensive knowledge of the country and of its transport problems, that this is not so—I have already indicated the prohibitive cost of transport by motor-lorry, rail, and river to Basrah via Baghdad. To further emphasize the point, I would like to give the respective costs from Mohammerah to Isfahan; these are as follows:

(a) By river to Ahwaz and on to Isfahan by caravan, about £20 per ton.

(b) By river to Ahwaz and on to Isfahan by motor-lorry, £15 per ton.

(c) By rail, Mohammerah to Isfahan, about £3 per ton.

The river caravan figure is the only one of the above figures actually available, but it must not be thought that those for lorry and rail are mere guess-work on my part. For a lorry road I have excellent data from a new road which the Anglo-Persian Oil Company have just completed between Dari-Khazinah (12 miles from Shusyat on the Upper Karun River) to their oil-fields, and for the railway I have certain estimates actually compiled when the survey was made by the Persian Railways Syndicate.

That it will take some little time to construct railways cannot be denied, whereas, as pointed out by Lieut.-Colonel Napier recently before the Royal Geographical Society, a rough motor-lorry service could be introduced much sooner, but I would like to point out that the construction of suitable roads through any part of the mountainous ranges which separate the seaboard from the rich provinces of Central Persia, would be costly and take time. In favour of this suggestion as a temporary measure, however, is the fact that the military in Mesopotamia would no doubt be ready to supply a certain number of lorries on the spot; petrol is already at hand from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and perhaps some of the existing caravan routes could, with a certain amount of patching-up, be made sufficiently passable for this kind of traffic. That the



experiment on a commercial basis would be tried in the near future, there is little doubt, and as a temporary measure, pending the completion of railways, it will doubtless be of value in carrying on the existing trade. I am convinced, however, and have endeavoured to show, that for permanent development on a large scale, Persia *must* have *railways*, and when these are built any lorries which have meantime been employed in maintaining the existing trade of Persia could no doubt be used to great advantage as feeders for the railway.

One of the greatest, if not *the* greatest difficulty which will have to be faced, whether the work in hand be road-making, irrigation, or any other constructional work, will be that of labour. The position in this respect, even before the war, was none too easy, and it is now one of the acutest problems of the day. The Persian is, taken all round, a good labourer, but he has many irons in the fire, and cannot be relied upon to remain with you throughout the entire year, especially when the date and grain seasons come round, nor to day, with the big demand for labour in Mesopotamia. Does there appear to be sufficient to meet the demands of all? Of skilled labour there is practically none, and even before the war artisans such as fitters, riveters, engine drivers, etc., had mainly to be imported from India, the possible exceptions in this respect being carpenters and masons, but here again the demand far exceeds the supply. Experience in other countries has, however, shown that, with the serious opening up of the country, more native labour will come forward although during the war, when the wages offered were at record height, and when, owing to famine, the shortage of food, clothing, etc., was acute, there was considerable difficulty in obtaining labour, this was no doubt, however, due in a great measure to the large demands of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force and the unsettled conditions generally. The Persian Government are quite naturally extremely keen that local labour should be encouraged and utilized

to the utmost extent, and every effort in this direction is being made in both official and commercial circles. It will, however, interest you to know that the artisans who have been imported from India (and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company have during the past ten years imported many thousands of such workmen) have on the whole been quite satisfactory—the men stand the climate well and their intercourse with the Persian is quite friendly, many have, in fact, married Persian wives and settled down. The war has done much to draw Persia and India together—not only have the respective peoples, as it were, been “introduced” to one another, but the trade relations between the two countries have been very much strengthened. Many commodities which before the war were obtained exclusively from Europe had, through necessity at first, to be obtained from India, when it was discovered that quite a number of these articles could be purchased as well and as cheaply as from home. Instances of this are chemicals, cement, and boxwood. Especially can I speak of the article last mentioned of which the Anglo-Persian Oil Company imported from India alone approximately half a million boxes for the casing of petrol for the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force.

A short review of the Oil Company's operations during the war should prove of interest. The company's refinery is situated at a spot called Braim on Abadan Island, some nine miles below Mohammerah on the Shat-el Arab River. Here the company employs some 60 Europeans, a large number of Persian subjects, as well as some 2,000 Indians, apart entirely from a further large staff of Europeans, Persians, and Indians at Mohammerah, on the oil-fields and on the route of the pipe-line. In 1909 the village consisted of possibly 50 sleepy natives, to-day there are probably over 10,000 inhabitants. The declaration of war with Turkey found Abadan particularly well equipped to render assistance to an expeditionary force to the Persian Gulf. The works were in a position to supply any quantity

of petrol, kerosene, and fuel oil, there was a particularly well-equipped workshop, foundry, slipway, and a number of river steamers and motor-boats. All were, needless to say, at once put at the disposal of the expeditionary force, and later, when it was decided to construct a fleet of light-draft gunboats, tugs, and barges, this work was undertaken at Abadan. Throughout the entire campaign the Anglo-Persian Oil Company supplied the total oil, petrol, and fuel oil requirements of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, and at the same time were shipping large quantities of oil home for the British Navy. On no occasion was there any hitch in the working of any of these supplies. Moreover, it was from one of the company's ships that hostilities against the Turks commenced, naval guns being mounted on the steam tug *Sardar i-Naft*, which bombarded and demolished the fortress of Fao. This was on November 6, 1914. Two days later the original expeditionary force, under General Delamaine, landed on Turkish soil almost immediately opposite to the A.P.O.C. Refinery at Abadan. Here the Turks made their first attack on the British a week later but were repulsed. Three days later the British attacked the Turks, advancing along the right bank of the Shat-el Arab River to a point almost immediately opposite to Mohammerah. The enemy were severely defeated and fled towards Basrah, which they, however, evacuated on November 21 without firing a shot. An amusing incident of those operations was the attempt by the Turks to block the river below Basrah. A large Hamburg-America liner, named the *Ekkbatana*, and two small Turkish ships were scuttled by the Turks. These proceedings occupied fully a fortnight, and were carried out with the utmost care. From Mohammerah I could obtain a fair view of the operations, and could not help admiring the painstaking methods of the Turks. A small gap had, however, inadvertently been left between the *Ekkbatana* and the right bank of the river, and, three days after the battle last referred to, news came down from

Bacrah that the Turks had deserted the town, and that the Arabs were looting it. H.M.S. *Espiegle* and one of Lynchis' River steamers made a dash for the gap, which was passed through without mishap. This effort to block the channel was, in fact, entirely futile, and it was found later that two ocean-going steamers could even pass one another without difficulty.

A rather amusing episode is said to have occurred in Mohammerah just prior to the official declaration of hostilities by Turkey on Great Britain. Notwithstanding the friendly relations professed towards us by Turkey up till almost the eve of the war, great tension had existed for some time between the two nations in the Persian Gulf, at any rate. The only protection afforded to British interests in Mesopotamia at this time were H.M.S. *Espiegle* and *Odin*, the former being particularly detailed to watch over Abadan and Mohammerah. She took up her position at Mohammerah just inside the mouth of the Karun River, this being Persian and therefore neutral water, of course, though the Shat-el-Arab River, into which the Karun runs, was Turkish water. The commander of the Turkish river flotilla seemed to think it his business to warn the *Espiegle* that in lying in this position she was committing a breach of international law, and, with this object in mind, he proceeded to issue daily ultimatums, which, however, as they were systematically ignored by the *Espiegle*, he very obligingly extended. Finally he decided to warn the British commander in person, and, with this intention, he one morning called on the British gunboat. During the interview, which was of a most friendly kind, the British commander offered the Turk some liquid refreshment, which the latter accepted, observing, however, that his creed precluded his indulging in anything stronger than "sherbet." This is not a very popular beverage in His Majesty's Navy. However, the order was at once (though somewhat dubiously) given by the British commander to his Indian servant to bring sherbet for his Turkish guest.

Somewhat to his surprise the servant (a resourceful fellow, as will be seen later, and moreover one who felt his responsibility in maintaining the hospitable reputation of the British Navy) shortly returned with a sparkling frothy pink drink. It was a hot day, and the Turkish commander's eyes glistened with pleasure as he raised the glass to his lips and drank it down. The all-important interview continued some little time longer, when it was observed that the Turkish commander was becoming "restless." The British commander suggested another sherbet, but this was hysterically refused, and the Turk took a hurried farewell. The commander of H M S *Espiegle* was nonplussed. What would account for the sudden and extraordinary change in the attitude of his Turkish colleague? It occurred to him to query his servant as to where he had procured the sherbet. "Oh, master, replied that faithful worthy, "we have no such drink as sherbet on board, so, in order to maintain the reputation of the ship, I manufactured the sherbet." "How?" inquired the commander. "I mixed a little rosewater with a lemon squash, and then, to make it fizz, I added some of that white powder which master keeps in his cabin." "Fetch me the bottle," replied the commander. The servant brought it—it was Eno's Fruit Salt!

It should be noted that it was within a few miles of the Sheikh of Mohammerah's territory that the first shot was fired, and, had it not been for Sheikh Khazzal's unswerving loyalty and staunchness to the British, our task in this theatre of the war would have been much more difficult. For weeks before the actual declaration of hostilities between Great Britain and Turkey the latter from Basrah, a very powerful base and only some fifteen miles distant from the Sheikh's residence, were in turn cajoling and threatening him to throw in his lot with them. The military power of the Turks was evident on all sides, whereas from the British the Sheikh had only the verbal assurance of the Consul on which to rely. Though the time must have been

a most anxious one, and the situation one requiring the greatest diplomacy and courage, never for one moment did the Sheikh waver, and, more than this, he placed his entire resources and unique local knowledge entirely gratuitously at our disposal

One of the most important, if not quite the most important, questions of the day in regard to Mesopotamia and Arabistan is that of dredging the Shat-el-Arab bar. This bar, which commences at Fao and which is some seven miles in extent, is a severe thorn in the side of all shipping entering the ports of Basrah, Mohammerah and Abadan. No vessel whose draft exceeds 18 feet 6 inches can at all times with certainty negotiate the bar, with the consequence that practically every ocean going vessel, both inward and outward, requires to be lightered, a most expensive, slow, and sometimes dangerous business. As matters stand at present, it is no exaggeration to say that a 6,000 to 8,000 ton cargo ship is delayed anything up to ten days, or roughly, one third of the time it would take for such a ship to perform the entire journey from Basrah to a British port if no bar existed. This, during the war, when tonnage was so scarce, was a most important matter to the British, nor to-day, with acute competition for trade supremacy among the nations of the world, can it be regarded in a much lesser light. Calculating on the number of ships loaded and discharged during the war at Abadan (of which, of course, the most precise figures are at my disposal), the time saved, had no bar existed, would have been equivalent, in the case of cargo boats, to about 16 per cent, and in the case of oil tank steamers to 9 per cent., of the total shipping which had to be employed. As regards the difficulties in the way of dredging, this question has been very thoroughly gone into by more than one expert, and the work has been pronounced as likely to be neither unduly costly nor lengthy. The bottom is soft, there are apparently no rocks, the current of the river is swift, and the tendency of the banks suitable for training.

I may add a few lines on the position of Germany in the Persian Gulf prior to the war. Prior to 1900 German interests were scarcely, if at all, represented in the Persian Gulf. Early in that year, a certain Robert Wonckhaus, a Hamburg merchant of no particular status, and with little if any capital, opened up business in Lingah ; he appeared to prosper exceedingly, and some five years later the firm of Wonckhaus and Co. were represented in most of the more important Gulf ports, including Basrah, Mohammerah, Bushire, and Bahrain. They traded in all kinds of goods, both import and export, and were employed as agents of the Hamburg-America Line. At first very few of this line's ships visited the Gulf, only about one every five or six weeks in 1909, but these gradually increased, till in 1913 their ships were calling on an average once a fortnight. That they were heavily subsidized by the German Government is pretty certain, though latterly, at any rate, I should not think any subsidy was necessary, as their outward freight (from Europe) was assured, in that they had obtained the contract to carry out the material required for the laying of the Baghdad Railway line northward from Baghdad, and, as regards return freight, favoured by their irregular methods of dealing and by good harvests, they were able to fill their ships with grain for Hamburg. Their methods were enterprising as well as unscrupulous, they seemed always ready to buy grain, even when the advice received by British firms indicated falling prices at home ; but this may be explained by the fact that the Germans were none too "particular" in their dealings with the Persian Customs. There is an export duty on cereals from Persia of 7 per cent., and this the Germans were experts at "dodging." On a large bulk-shipment of grain this is not difficult, as the amount declared by the shipper is difficult to check ; it can, in fact, only be checked by the draft of the steamer, which method the Persian Customs authorities found it difficult to carry out. The matter was brought to the notice of the British Chamber of Commerce

in Mohammerah, figures of the declared quantities of shipments made by the Germans were obtained, and it was decided to write to the British Consul in Hamburg, requesting him to endeavour to procure the out-turn figures at the latter port; war, however, broke out about that time and the matter dropped. Though our German competitors had these two big advantages over the British—namely, a subsidy, and evasion of Customs duties, or at least a large portion thereof—there is no denying that they owed some of their success to their enterprise and industriousness as well as to the unscrupulousness of their methods. The representatives of Messrs. Wonckhaus were one and all, from the partner in charge down to the junior assistant, extremely keen; they all seemed to know their business thoroughly, and, more important still, they made a careful study of the native, not only from the commercial point of view, but also from the social. All spoke the language fluently, and they would go out of their way to meet and entertain the more influential local merchants and others. In these respects, though not in the others to which I have referred, the British trader might copy the German to advantage. The object of this was amply demonstrated, after the outbreak of war, when Messrs. Wonckhaus's staff, led by the notorious Wassmuss, exchanged the commercial for the political cloak, scattering over Southern Persia and spreading anti-British propaganda with much success and with the gravest possible injury to Persia. Apropos of Wassmuss, I would like to mention a story which is little known and which further illustrates a well-known characteristic of the German race, both high and low. Some two years prior to the Armistice Wassmuss was taken and held captive at Kazvin; he was treated with the greatest consideration and was allowed some freedom on giving his parole, but—German-like—he broke his parole almost as soon as it was given.

I will conclude with a paragraph on the prospects of British enterprise in Southern Persia. With Russian



influence removed (the Persian "man in-the-street" never could understand why the British, whose characteristics are so widely different from those of the Russians, should associate themselves with the latter, whom they [the Persians] most cordially disliked), and with the disappearance of dishonest German competition there is, in my opinion, in Persia an exceptionally fine field for British trade. Heretofore, even with her resources little known, her abominably bad communications her lack of establishment of law and order, trading with Persia has developed, and, now that these deficiencies are about to be remedied by means of the understanding arrived at under the new British Persian agreement a period of great development for Persia and mutual prosperity may be anticipated. The personal relations between the Englishman and the Persian have always been most friendly, at least, that has always been my own experience. Their business methods are straight and their friendships are sincere, the working classes are loyal and honest (I may say that during my entire stay in the Persian Gulf I have had the same personal servant and never wish for a better one), and there is plenty of evidence to show that they are quick to appreciate and adopt modern methods. We have trained quite a number as engineers, riveters, motor-drivers, and also, on the clerical side, as book-keepers and cashiers. I see no reason why the Persians should not in due course become fully as competent in all these respects as Europeans. From the sporting point of view the instinct is there, as also is the practical side, in so far as there has been any opportunity of its manifestation. The Persian is a fine rider and a good shot. No present is so highly prized as a sporting gun, a pair of field-glasses, or a *hunting-knife*. The Persian is, moreover, where opportunity exists, an excellent *shikari*, shooting over dogs is no uncommon practice with him, and hawking is an ancient sport of theirs. In a country where some of the finest ponies in the world are bred, it need scarcely be said that

riding is second nature to them. Of polo, racing, etc., they of course cannot know much, though the present Shah and his predecessors have held annual meetings at the imperial summer residence near Teheran for many years past, and his Imperial Majesty is to-day, I understand, President of the Sporting Club in Teheran. When I first arrived in the Persian Gulf sport was hardly known, a small annual gymkhana meeting among the Europeans in Mohammerah and Basrah being all there was. Three years later the Europeans in Mohammerah were able, owing to the keen support of the Sheikh of Mohrah and the late Sheikh Mubarrak of Koweit, to hold two most successful meetings run on fairly "pucca" lines, and the entries included as many native-owned horses as European. To day there are "pucca" race-meetings twice and sometimes three times annually in Ahwaz, Mohammerah, Basrah, Amara, Kut, Nasiriyah, Baghdad, and Tekrit; the proceedings are on first-class lines, permanent courses have been constructed, there is no lack of entries, and the class of pony, especially of the Arab, is very good. There is a good club in Mohammerah, where tennis, golf, billiards, and other games are played, of which the Sheikh is a keen member, as also his Prime Minister, Haji Rais. In Ahwaz, Abadan, and at the oil-fields, there are also clubs.

## THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

BY ARAM RAFFI

(We regret to announce that the author, who was Secretary of the Armenian Bureau in London, passed away on Wednesday, November 12, 1919 at 6 20 p m—ED A R )

ONE of the chief diplomatic problems of the nineteenth century was the Eastern Question. This problem always came up on the conclusion of any war in which Turkey was concerned in one way or another. On every one of these occasions the question of the protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte was brought forward. New treaties were signed and schemes for the protection of the Christians were drawn up by the European Great Powers. Turkey was put under new obligations to carry out these schemes and the Powers pledged themselves to see that she did so. But these schemes were never executed. Outrages and massacres were committed during times of peace, the Great Powers sent protests to the Porte, fresh promises were made by Turkey, but they have never been fulfilled. Every time that a massacre of the Christian subjects of Turkey took place, the Eastern Question again came to the front. Hundreds of thousands of Armenian women and innocent children were barbarously put to death. This aroused the indignation and sympathy of the whole world, fresh representations were made, schemes were drawn up for the protection of Armenian Christians, but it was generally recognized that these schemes would lead to nothing unless the execution of them was enforced by the Powers. Some of the Powers agreed that compulsion should be used, but in one case it was said that Russia was against such action, therefore diplomats decided that if any country were to fight for the liberation of Armenia, it would reopen the Eastern Question and lead to a European war. From this prospect all nations recoiled. The Question again remained on paper, resulting in fresh representations to the Porte, and fresh Turkish promises. The last time the Armenian Question came to the front, after many outrages had been committed, Russia figured as Armenia's champion, but it was said that Germany was the obstacle to the final settlement of the Eastern Question. However, the Great Powers conceived a scheme for introducing reforms in Armenia. It was proposed to appoint a High Commissioner to undertake the execution of the reforms. After long discussion the Committee of Union and Progress consented to this, fearing that, if the scheme were not executed speedily, Russia would take this as a pretext to occupy Armenia. Germany was against having one High Commissioner and proposed to divide Armenia into two zones of influence and send two High Commissioners, one for

each zone. The Turkish Government tried to thwart this scheme and to demand special privileges. A Swedish general actually proceeded to Armenia as High Commissioner, appointed by the Great Powers, and with the consent of the Porte. Such was the state of affairs at the outbreak of the Great War. The Armenians cast in their lot with the Allies, formed volunteer forces, and led the Russian armies into Armenia. After the fall of the Russian Government, and the revolution when the Bolsheviks were in power, the Russian troops evacuated all the conquered parts of Armenia. For a long time the Armenians defended the front and checked the advance of the Turks. In Turkish Armenia a most horrible massacre took place, the whole Armenian population was deported into the interior of Arabia, a great number of the deportees were done to death during the journey. Thus, out of two millions of Armenians in Turkish Armenia, nearly half were wiped out. Now the Turks were trying to invade the Caucasus, where two millions of Armenians are living. After this, Bolsheviks came into power, the Caucasus declared itself independent of the Bolshevik Government, and the three chief populations of the Caucasus—Armenians, Georgians, and Tartars—formed themselves into independent republics. The capital of the Armenian Republic is Erivan.

The Russian Armenians concentrated themselves in their territory, and, singlehanded, checked the advance of the Turks in the Caucasus, thus facilitating the march of General Allenby to Mesopotamia and Palestine by making it necessary to divert many Turkish troops to the Caucasus.

In the Armistice concluded with Turkey (November 2, 1918) the following stipulation concerning Armenia was made:

"In case of disorder in the six Armenian vilayets, the Allies reserve to themselves the right to occupy any part of them."

Since that date great disorder, accompanied by murder and pillage, has prevailed, and is still prevailing, in the six vilayets mentioned in the Armistice, but those regions have never been occupied by the Allies and the Armenian Question is not yet settled. The Paris Conference is waiting till America makes up its mind whether or not she will accept the mandate for Armenia. Pending the decision of the diplomats, Armenian blood is being freely shed. British troops, which were a safeguard to the Armenian population, have been withdrawn from the Caucasus. In consequence Turks, Kurds, and Tartars, are combining in an attack on the Armenian Republic, with a view to wiping out the two millions of Armenians in the Caucasus. The following telegram speaks for itself.

"The situation in Armenia is literally terrible. The Turco Tartar troops have completely surrounded the country, and taken Davalu and Kulp, on the frontier of the Kars. The incessant attacks of the Kurds, capturing officers, soldiers, machine-guns, and Turkish cannon, have necessitated the beginning of evacuation. Many thousands of Armenian refugees coming from Turkey, and installed in districts near the frontier, find themselves compelled to make another exodus.

"There is a Mussulman agitation in progress. The insurgent Tartars threaten the Ouloukhanlou-Echmiadzin railway. The centre of the

agitation is at Erzerum, Nakhichevan, and Baku, whence the enemy forces receive money, arms, and ammunition. Fighting has taken place during the evacuation of Kars. The departure of the English and the lack of ammunition reduces our forces to inactivity. We cannot," the Premier concludes, "understand why Paris does not send us help. We are completely abandoned."

Armenia's tragedy is twofold: she was a victim of the war, now she is a victim of the peace. She was persecuted by her enemies, now she is almost deserted by her friends.

## TAO CHIEN'S RETURN TO THE COUNTRY

(A CHINESE MASTERPIECE)

BY DAVID ALEC WILSON

THE Chinese are impatient of verbosity, and say a man should put his thought into the minimum of words. A common remark in this connection is that the "Masterpiece," the ancient "Return to the Country" of Tao Chien, is the only long poem that is perfect, and as readers will see, we would not call it long.

It appears to me to be the finest idyll in literature, surpassing all the rest in depth and clearness and beauty. Only the defects of my translation can leave room for doubt, and maybe the Chinese opinion may be shared by many who can see through the mists of language the meaning of this wonderful word picture. It has something of the perfect daintiness of "The Tempest."

Tao Chien, the author, "the poet of the Chrysanthems," died in 427 of our era at the age of sixty two, so that the "Return to the Country" may have reached the hands of his contemporaries at the very time which the Italians called "the Night of the World," when Alaric and the Goths were plundering Rome and her belongings, and Augustine was writing for the comfort of men his "City of God", in short, when the millennium of confusion called in Europe "the Middle Ages" was about to begin.

The "poet of the Chrysanthems" would have been impossible, not allowed to live at all, at any time since 1890 in modern Germany, and even in England he might have been deported in time of war, unless, which is unthinkable, he were in the pay of somebody. I will not disguise his peculiarities. He was a poor scholar, and sought and found an official career, and was promoted to be a magistrate, but after eighty-three days he resigned that high promotion because he objected to the obeisances required by "official" superiors, and had the rudeness to say he could "not crook the hinges of his back for five pecks of rice a day." It may help us to understand him to reflect that he would not take bribes, so that the official perquisites he lost would be less tempting to him than to others, and his wife abetted him. So the historians expressly tell us, and it is worth while to remember. One of the best women in England (Mrs Fawcett) said in my hearing not long ago "Whenever a man is specially good, I ask about his wife, and find she has a hand in it." The wife of Tao Chien "worked in the back garden, while he worked in the front."

This wonderful man supported his family by cultivating a little land, and might be called a humble gentleman farmer, but that phrase is misleading. Even fifteen hundred years ago there had ceased to be what the caste-ridden English call "gentlemen" in China, and game preserving was only known to historians. The most vulgar Chinaman had outgrown the fashion of killing for the pleasure of killing. Tao Chien gave most of his strength to literary work that was never paid for, but did not neglect

his fields, and lived so modestly that he was free from worry, and said himself that he had nothing to pray for but "length of years and lots of liquor"

To this day his countrymen may be heard to wish, as for the chief of blessings, to enjoy an old age like that of Tao Chien.

He would long ago have been forgotten, as he doubtless expected to be, but for the "Return to the Country," which goes to the heart like some of the best of the songs of Burns. It may have seemed insignificant to him self at first, and been intended to please his wife, "the inner one." But his other writings are too full of allusions to contemporary events to be interesting or even intelligible now without notes that are tedious.

It was very different when they first appeared. He made official sinners squirm. They did all they could to silence him in vain. The very Emperor himself condescended to solicit him to accept an official post. But "in spite of the reiterated appeals of the Emperor," writes Tcheng-Ki Fong, "he would not budge, and never left home again." He gloried in the freedom of private life. Like Lord Kosebery, he had retired to enjoy himself, and he did. In reading his happy anticipations, we feel for a moment even happier than he could have been when he wrote them, for now we know that they were all fulfilled.

I will go home. The thick'ning weeds  
Show how my home its master needs  
There's nothing left me here to crave  
My soul's been long enough a slave  
The past is lost, but vain regret  
Would make my losses greater yet  
The future's left. 'Tis not too late  
Upon it now to concentrate  
I have not wandered far astray  
But, for a little, lost my way,  
And stumbled, but not far, and then—  
I feel I've found the road again.

Now lightly speeds my boat away,  
The breezes with my garments play,  
As through the tangled creeks I steer,  
I only ask what way is near,  
And homeward, homeward as I go,  
The rising sun itself seems slow,  
Till from afar my home I see  
Look! look! they are expecting me,  
My servants running to the shore,  
My children clustering at the door!  
Among the weeds chrysanthemums shine,  
And still it's there, my own old pine  
But in I go, I cannot stand—  
The children have me by the hand  
From wine jars full I fill my cup,  
And, as we drink the liquor up,  
I at the window loiter to see  
And feel the joy of being free.  
Then sit, and there, my heart to please,  
At once I watch my favourite trees  
And children playing on my knees.

There's nothing that the world could give  
 Could draw me hence, so here I'll live,  
 And howsoever things go askew,  
 There's nothing more for me to do  
 If any friends an hour would cheer,  
 They'll find me, if they seek me, here  
 My garden's all I want to see,  
 Its gate may now stay shut for me  
 Inside it, on my stick I lean,  
 Or sit me down to view the scene,  
 And, with uplifted head, behold  
 A world of beauties manifold  
 See lowland clouds unwilling rise,  
 Reluctant they to mount the skies  
 That wary bird, which seems so pressed,  
 Methinks, is making for its nest  
 Now shadows all in shade combine,  
 And still I stay beside my pine,  
 Still loath to leave my lonely pine!  
 Home, home again! and hap, what may,  
 At home for ever now I'll stay,  
 Here, in my family, abide,  
 And never more I'll wander wide  
 On tedium I can never look  
 While I have light to read a book  
 The longest nights the dark months bring  
 Are not too long to play and sing

My men will come to call me forth  
 With them to plough the wak'ning earth,  
 When, after winter's wind and rain,  
 The world is all alive again  
 I'll seek the fields by boat, and start  
 To climb the gorge in quiet cart,  
 Then o'er the giddy cliff I'll go,  
 And watch the brooks that brimming flow,  
 And trees, that bud on every hand  
 As if the trees could understand  
 And join in joy at life renewed.  
 Shall we alone be thought subdued?  
 Ask whither? Whence? And how and why?  
 And whimper, when it's time to die?  
 'Tis not for long—Then why be sad?  
 The end in sight—that makes me glad  
*I'm ready now* Content to stay,  
 I can enjoy a pleasant day,  
 And lengthen out the sunlit hours  
 Among my happy garden flowers  
 Riches and rank I'll never prize,  
 Nor yet post obit paradise,  
 But on the hill I'll sing my song,  
 And by the brook the verse prolong,  
 And work, in my allotted time,  
 With many a pleasing thought and rhyme  
 Content to live, and free from care,  
 With Fate contented, everywhere,  
 When Fate shall life no more allow,  
 Content to die. *I'm ready now!*



## THE PARISHIONER

(*Translated from the Russian of the poet KRILOV by DR. JOHN  
POLLEN, C.I.E.*)

PEOPLE there be who, if they hold you dear,  
To them you are a genius ! Writer without peer ,  
Whereas another man,  
Sing sweetly all he can,  
Not only fails to win their praise—  
But e'en his beauty fear they to appraise.  
Therefore, though possibly you may be vext,  
In place of fable I'll take this for text

In 'Temple, once, a Preacher—  
Of Pluto's eloquence Pupil and Teacher—  
Lectured his Parish flock on doing good  
The words poured from his lips in honeyed flood.  
And all he said was true and pure and free from guile ,  
As 'twere by golden chain  
Were raised all thoughts and feelings to the sky—the while  
He painted Earth as folly full and vain—  
And hushed in awe his sermon ended.  
Each listened eagerly, and to the spheres  
With softened and enraptured souls ascended,  
Nor felt the flow of their fast-falling tears !  
As from the church their homeward way they wended,  
One hearer to another said—"How splendid !  
Ah ! what a gracious gift !  
What glow ! what sweet uplift !  
And with what power he led his Flock from wrong !"  
"But you, my friend, your nature's hard and strong,  
I did not see a tear-drop in your eye !  
Did you not understand ?" "Of course I did ! but why  
Should I begin to cry ?  
I to this Parish don't belong !"

## JAPANESE COLONIZATION\*

BY DR. INAZO NITOBE

THE nineteenth century is pre-eminently an age of nationality and of national expansion. All nations, large and small, were awakened to a strong sense of their own importance, so much so that not a few of them were obsessed with it. Those that wisely adapted their national self-consciousness to the law of organic growth became conquering or colonial Powers, while those who, like the Foolish Virgins of the parable, were not ready to act at this call of the century were bereft of their independence. The merciless law of the survival of the fittest, first announced in the middle of the century, has only justified the expansion of virile nations. So much for the universal tendency of the age just passed.

If we examine the more immediate reasons for national expansion, we shall find them to be largely of economic character, such as the growth of the investment of capital, the growth and migration of population, the necessity of command over the supply of raw materials, the desire to acquire markets for home products. None of these reasons is absent in the colonial enterprise of present Japan, whether it be in tropical Formosa, or temperate Korea, or half-frigid Saghalien. But in its earliest form of modern Japanese colonization the chief motive was national safety—the safeguarding of territorial boundaries, the security from foreign invasion; and this reason has been present even in its later stages. Let me explain.

Modern Japan began her career late in the sixties of the

\* A paper read before the Japan Society, on Wednesday, December 17, 1919. Published by permission.

last century. That was the period which Mr. Kidd has, in his recent book, called the age of Great Pagan Retrogression. It was the period when force was freely displayed and conquests unscrupulously made in the backward places of the globe. For some three centuries Japan had shut herself up in a shell; but when she first opened the lid and gazed upon the world, what was the sight she beheld? The Union Jack was firmly planted in India and was moving eastward to Singapore, Hong-Kong, and there was some probability of it marching on to China. Why not to Japan too? The French Tricolour was also to be seen floating over Cambodia, Annam, and Tonkin, and nobody could tell how far north or east it would fly. More alarming than these, the Muscovite Power, like a huge avalanche, was steadily descending southwards from its Siberian steppes, crushing everything on its way. The necessity of protecting our northern frontiers was most evident and urgent. So began, in the seventies, the colonization of the long-neglected island of Hokkaido (Yezo). Saghalien, a bone of contention between Russia and Japan, was exchanged for a group of some thirty-one Kurile Islands (6,000 square miles). The colonization of Hokkaido was not fraught with great difficulties, as the natives—the Ainu—were a timid and fast-vanishing race. There was at first a reluctance on the part of the Japanese, who, being essentially a southern race, but for generations bred in the genial clime, were averse to move north. Colonial enterprise had therefore to be largely led by the Government. An immense amount of money was spent before the work was voluntarily taken up by the people. The island—30,500 square miles, just about the size of Scotland—can nowadays scarcely be called a colony, being more a part of Japan than Algeria is of France. At present the chief motive of immigration from the south is not for the defence of frontiers; it is economic. Its agriculture, fisheries, and coal mines are very profitable. Its beans are of much better quality than those of Manchuria.

Barley for brewing can be grown only there. Its herring, cod, and salmon are exported in vast quantities. It is rich in timber, oak and walnut. The population has now risen to over 10 millions, and it will prove an important granary to the rest of the Empire.

This sole colonial training in this northern island, though it proved of great use when Russia returned in 1905 the southern half of Saghalien, an area of some 13 000 square miles and a population of 70,000, and valuable for its fishery, coal oil, and timber, was inadequate to cope with the conditions of a tropical colony of Formosa, inhabited by 3½ millions of the Chinese race and some ferocious head hunting tribes. We acquired Formosa in 1895 after the war with China largely because we could not get anything else. To this rich island of 14 000 square miles twice as large as Wales, there was attached at first no great economic value, neither was it considered indispensable for the defence of our realm. But its strategic importance proved later very great during the war with Russia. China was apparently exceedingly willing to get rid of it because of the chronic obstacles, as Li Hung-Chang said, in administering it on account of (1) brigandage (2) epidemics, (3) aboriginal savages. Sure enough the island was for a while a white elephant to Japan and its sale was even discussed at one time. Later on, under the able administration of Kodama and Goto, brigandage was put down, plague and malaria almost suppressed, and Malay head hunters kept within bounds by hundreds of miles of electrified wire fence. The last device, let me explain, is not to kill the savages. Setting aside humanitarian reasons it does not pay to do so. The interior of the island, so rich in camphor must have labour, and this is reason enough to do everything to entice the aborigines to peaceful activity. When they are cut off by the fence they begin to suffer from want of salt. It is then that we offer salt in exchange for their weapons, and on their surrendering those we give them buffaloes and agricultural

implements and the fence is moved, as it were, over their heads so that their village comes within Japanese protection. Every year an advance of ten or twenty miles is thus made. They are confined among mountains, while on the plains and along the shores the Chinese population ply their trade and industry. After the suppression of brigandage, the Japanese Government turned its attention to the development of island resources. The tropical climate which was at first a terror to our people was soon turned to good account. Irrigation and agriculture are encouraged. sugar production has increased nearly tenfold. cadastral surveys have increased the amount of Government revenue. rice culture has improved and the Oolong tea production has increased. Railways and harbours have been constructed, and the introduction of sewage systems in the larger cities, the gradual abolition of opium smoking under strict regulation, the Government monopoly of the camphor industry, have been some of the more prominent features of the Formosan administration. The number of Japanese is steadily increasing but they cannot compete with the Chinese in labour or in small retail business. Formosa is still an investment colony but with the opening up of the higher altitudes in the interior which is sure to follow the subjugation of the head hunters and with the general sanitary improvement, I believe our people can settle without detriment to health. Already the island thanks to camphor and sugar is self-supporting. Indeed the Home Government derives no small revenue from the heavy consumption tax on sugar and from Customs duties on her trade with China.

In its rather short history Formosa has been under Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and Chinese rule. With such changes of masters there is little patriotism among the people who nevertheless are intelligent, hard-working, and law-abiding. We do not hear of self determination there. It is quite otherwise with Korea.

This country prides itself on being one of the oldest

nations of the earth. Oriental pride in mere age is shared by our people too but I am afraid that in the Occident old age is identified with senility, decrepitude, and dotage. However that may be, Korea was once a powerful and advanced nation, from whom Japan learned most of her ancient arts and craft.

The Korean Peninsula jutting out into the Japan Sea was like a phial, from which was poured milk and honey into the mouth of Japan. But as to Korea's political independence in the past, there are grave doubts how much she had ever enjoyed it. For centuries she was virtually under the suzerainty of China, paying tribute to Peking and receiving Chinese envoys as messengers from her over-lord. After a war in the sixteenth century we claimed Korea as our protégé. And later in the nineteenth century Russia was bent upon absorbing the kingdom, and was on the fair way to success. As long as Korea remains a really independent country, strong and well governed, it may well be a buffer State, but when it is now under China, and now under Russia there can be no security for peace in the Far East nor safety for Japan. We can easily change the geographical metaphor, and liken the Peninsula to a sword-blade aimed at the heart of Japan. Suppose Belgium were a weak and vacillating country, to fall at any moment under the sway of Germany, what guarantee is there for the peace of Europe and the security of Great Britain? I wish Korea had been as strong and well ordered as Belgium, for in that case there would have been no need of three Powers (China, Russia, and Japan) preying upon her, nor any necessity on the part of Japan to annex her. Here again it was as a condition of self-preservation that Korea was taken under our rule.

I am not a believer in the Will to Power or in the doctrine of the Divine Right of Might, but I do not believe it is the right of every people to do as they will, regardless of consequences to their neighbours. A nation that cannot

keep order has as little right to absolute independence as a nation that has only power has to conquer another. As a matter of fact the old Korean kingdom had forfeited its right to independence when it was treated as a shuttlecock between China, Russia, and Japan. Lord Curzon wrote some years ago

“The spectacle of a country boasting a separate, if not an independent, national existence for centuries, and yet devoid of all external symptoms of strength, inhabited by a people of physical vigour but moral inertness well endowed with resources yet crippled for want of funds—such a spectacle is one to which I know no counterpart, even in Asia, the continent of contrasts.”

As another English statesman has said, what India and Egypt want is a self-government, and not a good government, and though I believe that self government is a sure means to good government, there is a proper time to begin it, and this depends upon the political maturity of the people who ask for it. As long as they resort to assassination, to terrorism, to appeals to third parties, to calumnies, childish methods of playing at governments on foreign soil—well, English people have had enough experience with this kind of demonstration! I count myself among the best and truest friends of Koreans. I like them. I do not share such unfavourable views as were expressed by Captain Bostwick, Archibald Little, George Kennan, or Professor Ladd, and other writers on Korean character. I think they are a capable people, who can be trained to a large measure of self government, for which the present is a period of tutelage. Let them study what we are doing in Korea, and this I say, not to justify the many mistakes committed by our militaristic administration, nor to boast of some of our achievements. In all humility, but with a firm conviction that Japan is a steward on whom devolves *the gigantic task of the uplifting of the Far East*, I cannot think that young Korea is yet capable of governing itself. Let them study, I repeat, what we are doing.

Mr Wickham called the Korean "the pale ghost of what a Chinaman was a thousand years ago," and Mr Kennan called him "the rotten product of a decayed Oriental civilization." Indolence was the badge of honour. The first lesson to instil into him is to work.

Before annexation was formally proclaimed, in August, 1910, Korea had been a protectorate for four years (1906-10) under the Residency of our foremost statesman, Prince Ito. It was in the early years of this régime that I called on him in Seoul. My mission was to induce him to accept a plan of settling Japanese farmers in Korean villages as demonstrators of better systems of cultivation. The old Prince refused to endorse my plan, insisting that Korea was for Koreans. But when I asked him how he could supply the decreasing population—of which there were several local indications in different parts—he still insisted in his opinion by saying "Under better government, which I inaugurate, population itself will increase." By better government he meant more than the elementary functions of government—viz. legal security of life and property.

Certainly, a government to be better than a self-government must provide a substantial economic basis. A glance at the table showing the amount of agricultural produce grown in 1910 and 1915 needs no comment.

	1910 Bushels	1915 Bushels
Rice	40 000,000	60 000 000
Wheat and barley	17,500,000	33,000,000
Beans	12 000,000	17,500,000
Cotton	11,000,000 lbs	45,000,000 lbs

Mining, fishery, and manufacture have advanced in the corresponding scale. The bald mountains have been covered with young trees. Trade has increased by leaps and bounds, foreign trade increasing from 60,000,000 to 108,000,000 yen. Railway mileage has nearly doubled. The peninsular Government can support itself without subsidies from the central exchequer. Schools, hospitals,



and savings banks are being built in all the larger towns and villages. The school attendance has more than doubled in 1910-15. And let me state here, with all emphasis, that there is perfect religious liberty. A strange rumour is now and then started by misguided missionaries, or by malicious Koreans, that there is a Christian persecution by the heathen Government of Japan. May I add that the Chief Judge in Korea—a Japanese—is one of the most earnest Christians; a Director of a Department is another, and the late Director of Education still another—not to cite other instances I am not personally acquainted with. Last summer we read in papers that a church was bombarded by Japanese gendarmes. That sounds bad enough. As far as I understand, this was done, not because it was a church, nor because good Christian people gathered there for worship—but because a dozen instigators of insurrection hid themselves under its roof. When a building is used, not for a religious purpose but for harbouring law-breakers, it forfeits its sanctity. On questions like these it is exceedingly difficult to be absolutely impartial and fair. Distortion of facts by interested and hostile parties is only human and too frequent. I can well imagine, however, that Japanese authorities—or more probably the lower officials, civil and military—may exercise their functions awkwardly, to say the least, and sometimes too zealously. When a colonial administration as experienced as the British commits errors in Egypt or in Jamaica, it is not to be wondered at that novices like us are not free of them.

What is vital in any colonial scheme seems to me to be the right answer to this question: Do we govern an unwilling people for their sake or for our own?

*As to the general unwillingness of any colony—not excluding India, Egypt, the Philippines, Indo-China, etc.—to be governed by a Power alien to it, there is little doubt. A colonial government has received no consent of the governed. Nor is there much reason to believe that a*

colonial Power, white or brown, bears the burden at a sacrifice simply to better the lot of the people placed in its charge. The history of colonization is the history of national egotism. But even egotism can attain its end by following the simple law of human intercourse—"give and take." Mutual advantage must be the rule for the old doctrine of 'colonial pact' holds no more. Korea must not be regarded as a mere boundary line nor as a field for exploitation, much less its inhabitants as food for powder or as a labour supply. Certainly, two races so closely allied as the Korean and the Japanese must come to a better understanding, and such a time will be accelerated more by Japan's approach than by Korea's. To an English student of colonization it will be highly interesting to watch the development of Korea to a Wales or—to an Ireland.

## DRAMATIC NOTES

### "SAKUNTALA"—*Winter Gardens Theatre*

It was a good inspiration which caused the East and West Association to introduce the play "Sakuntala," on November 21, to a crowded audience at the Winter Garden Theatre, Drury Lane

Miss Sybil Thorndyke as Sakuntula acted throughout with effective grace and distinct yet melodious enunciation. Charming indeed was the first scene in which she and her two young companions were tending and watering "their sester flowers."

Excellent, too, was the acting of the jester, who, like in our Shakespeare plays, served to relieve the tension between the various highly dramatic situations.

Now, the king had gone on a hunting expedition to escape the cares of State. The hermits who meet the king urge him to stay, as his sacred presence will protect them from devils with whom they are afflicted, and the mother sends to entreat him to accept.

The next scene opens with Sakuntula love sick and confessing her admiration for the king. Meantime the mother comes forward and tells her daughter that the king is called to drive out the demons—and so they converse together, he enraptured with her beauty, and secretly giving her a ring. Thus marriage is consummated, and he returns to his duties of State. Meanwhile a voice from heaven has announced her marriage to the old hermit. He then delivers an eloquent speech, insisting that "You must go to your husband and all will be well, if only thou to thine own self be true."

Accompanied by hermits, they arrive at the Court to find the king in a very unhappy mood, declaring with scorn that he has no recollection of the marriage or of the ring, which he challenges her to produce. Then Sakuntula discovers they have unfortunately lost it, and the hermits retire, leaving them alone—a scene in which Miss Thorndyke's acting is very dramatic. Then the Chancellor, standing behind the king, reminds him of a prophecy made by the astrologers, that his son shall be a mighty man who will acquire an Empire, and counsels Sakuntula to remain in the Chancellor's house till the birth of her child, when the hereditary birthmarks will be found. As she passes through the door a loud clap of

thunder is heard, and a bright light discloses that her celestial mother has taken her to the skies. No sooner is this accomplished than the curtain drops.

Two guards are then seen kicking an unlucky fisherman on the ground, who is bound, and vehemently declares that the royal ring had not been stolen, but found in the mouth of a large fish. An official comes forward and then says the case must go to the king. As the king handles the ring his memory of Sakuntala returns. The fisherman is handsomely rewarded, but the king is utterly disconsolate.

Then Mantala, the charioteer of heaven, appears and commands him to return to the hermitage. There he sees a fine manly boy eagerly pursuing a lion cub. The king watches him with mingled envy and admiration, but the boy calls loudly for his mother. It is Sakuntala who comes, she sees the king, recognizes her boy's father, and all the past is forgiven and forgotten in the present joy of reunion with the child of both.

The music and whole staging reflects much credit on Mr. Das Gupta. The only item that seemed to our minds out of harmony with the East was the patch work curtain, which recalled Jacob's coat of many colours.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

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### THE EGYPTIAN ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET

By WARREN R. DAWSON

THE vexed question of the origin of our alphabet has given rise to a long series of controversies and theories, but of recent years the matter appears to have been comfortably settled among philologists. A recent discovery of great importance has caused us, however, to reconsider our ideas and to push back farther into the mists of antiquity.

It is of course, a matter of common knowledge that our English alphabet is taken directly from that of the ancient Greeks who in their turn received it from the Phœnicians. It is indeed true that not later than 1000 years before the Christian era a perfect alphabet of twenty two consonants, but without vowels was used upon Phœnician soil, and it is clear that Greece adopted most of the letters of this script, although possibly in an earlier stage of development than that in which we first encounter it. Some of the Greek letters, however, seem to have a closer affinity with those of another Semitic alphabet, akin to Phœnician, but used in slightly varying forms in South Arabia and Abyssinia, and generally known as *South Semitic* the *North Semitic* being Phœnician proper. The mutual relations of the North and South Semitic alphabets seem to postulate a common parent which came into existence at least anterior to 1000 B.C., and which may be called *Original Semitic*. Opinions differ considerably as to the origin of this hypothetical script, and a cluster of divergent theories ascribe its origin respectively to Babylonian cuneiform, Egyptian hieratic, the lately discovered Cretan, and finally a number of marks and other symbols found on Egyptian pottery, but certainly

no. Egyptian in origin. All these derivations present difficulties, and a different solution of the problem has been presented by Dr Alan H Gardiner, who has studied the subject exhaustively and whose researches have already been made known to science\*. His views have recently been propounded by Mr T E Peet, who has collaborated in this study, in a lecture delivered to Egypt Exploration Fund, and the substance of the lecture is given in a condensed form in the sequel.

Our data are the early forms of the letters, and their *names*, which can be shown with great probability to be as old as the letters themselves. The signs were originally chosen on the acrophonic principle, thus, in order to represent the sound B, a common object, whose name began with B—namely, BET, “a house”—was chosen. The sign was hence called BET, which has survived in the Greek BETA. Can we see this process in its early stages?

In the peninsula of Sinai, on a plateau called Scrabit-el Khâdim, anciently frequented by the Egyptians for the purpose of turquoise-mining, stood a temple dedicated to the goddess Hathor, really called “the Lady of the Turquoise”. In this temple the expedition sent by the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1905 discovered various monuments bearing inscriptions in an unknown script, and near the turquoise mines in the same district were found seven further inscriptions in the same writing. Careful copies were made of these documents, but it was not until 1914 that their true significance was realized, when Dr Alan H. Gardiner submitted them to a long and minute study. It soon became manifest to Dr Gardiner that, though the language was not Egyptian, many of the characters were taken from Egyptian hieroglyphs, but this borrowing was confined merely to the forms of the sign and not to their Egyptian values. As Semites are known from other evidence to have accompanied the Egyptian expeditions to Sinai, Dr. Gardiner argued that the new script might

\* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. III, p. 159.

well be Semitic, and he proceeded to fix the values of the signs on the acrophonic principle already alluded to. These signs being only thirty-two in number could scarcely be other than alphabetic. Having thus determined the values of fifteen signs, with their help a group of four signs which recurs in several of the texts was found to read BA'ALAT—the Semitic word for Lady, or Goddess—the evident equivalent of the Hathor of the purely Egyptian inscriptions of this site. Dr Gardiner and other scholars have added new readings for other groups of signs, but none of these are quite as convincing as the instance just quoted.

Here, then, in Sinai we have at a date probably earlier than 1500 B.C. a Semitic people apparently in the very act of borrowing signs from the Egyptian hieroglyphic script in order to form on the acrophonic principle a true alphabet which would suffice to write their own speech. For B. they borrowed the Egyptian sign for "house" because their own word BET began with the b-sound, and so on.

From the very crude alphabet which these inscriptions reveal, it is possible to trace many of the letters of the Phœnician alphabet, and thus to show that they are conventionalized forms of objects selected originally from the Egyptian hieroglyphs on the acrophonic principle. If we have not here the actual origin of the Phœnician—and hence of our own—alphabet, we have at least a striking example of the process to which both are due.

It may be added that a complete corpus of all the known inscriptions in the Sinaitic script is in course of publication by the Egypt Exploration Fund, under the joint editorship of Dr Alan Gardiner and Mr. T. E. Peet, the first volume of which has already appeared.

## THE ROYAL TOMBS OF THEBES

ON December 12 last Professor P. E. Newberry delivered a most interesting lecture before a crowded audience at the Royal Society's Rooms on the tombs of the Kings at Thebes. This lecture is the second of a course organized by the Egypt Exploration Society primarily for the benefit of members, but to which the public are welcomed. The Royal Society have most generously placed their lecture-room at the disposal of the committee, and the large number of applications for tickets (which are given gratis) has shown the keen interest taken in the subject by the public.

Professor Newberry is of all Egyptologists the best qualified to lecture on the royal tombs, as his knowledge of them is the result of twenty-five years' residence in their vicinity, and he has the honour of being the discoverer, or at least the co-discoverer, of many of them.

He opened his discourse with a brief historical sketch of Thebes and traced its history from the earliest times as a centre first of local government until it became the capital of the country both in the temporal and religious senses. He next described the topography of the district and indicated the rise and growth of the great necropolis, more especially that particular quarter which was appropriated by the Pharaohs as the site of their tombs. The Egyptian tombs, it must be remembered are not merely vaults for the deposit of the body, but are elaborate and systematized structures of enormous extent and complex adornment, and their every feature had a deep mythological significance.

The time-honoured custom of depositing valuable jewellery and other precious objects on the mummies of the dead has from the earliest antiquity made the tombs, and more especially the royal tombs, objects of irresistible attraction to treasure-seekers, and we learn from a number of papyri, which time has so considerably handed down to us, that active judicial measures were enforced to protect the sepulchres of the Pharaohs from desecration. The principal



of these documents, the Abbott Papyrus, relates that in the twentieth dynasty a Royal Commission was appointed to inspect the tombs of the Kings. The personnel of this commission is detailed at length, and a catalogue of the tombs visited follows and a report on the condition of each. The remainder of the document deals with the arrest and trial of certain thieves. Another papyrus, the "Amherst," contains the confession of one of them, who apparently turned "King's evidence." Details of some of the tombs are given, the accuracy of which modern discoveries have verified. Space forbids a description of the manner in which the clues of the Abbott Papyrus have been followed up by modern discoveries—it is indeed a veritable romance. It would seem that judicial measures did not avail to protect the sleeping Pharaohs, and the final course adopted was to remove the mummies from their tombs to a place of safety, where they have remained undisturbed till our own times, and the bodies of the greatest Kings of ancient history now repose unmolested in the Cairo Museum.

A wonderful series of objects recovered from the tombs was displayed upon the screen, but space forbids the mention of all save one—a piece of woven tapestry found by Professor Newberry in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV. This tapestry may justly claim to be one of the marvels of the world, since it is the earliest piece of woven tapestry known—by a full thousand years—from any part of the world, and its texture is so fine that it contains sixty threads to the inch as against a maximum of twenty in the finest known examples of any country or of any age ancient or modern.

The next lecture, which will be delivered in late January, will be on "El Amarna, the City of the Heretic King." The first lecture of the session—upon the alphabet—is fully dealt with elsewhere in this journal.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## "A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

## DO THEY WANT TO KNOW THE TRUTH?

SIR,

Is there anybody in England who cares to know the truth about Russia? At first sight it would appear so. Under the auspices of the British Government there have been published a very important collection of official reports by an official English Consul, setting out in very truthful, honest terms what the facts really are about the horrors of Bolshevism. *The Times* has also published a pamphlet with the same object, and it is sold at such a very cheap price that no Russian can think of that publication without a feeling of gratitude. Naturally the Russian National Committee lost no time in distributing that pamphlet, with the principal object of making known the important testimonies of Englishmen, as they know only too well facts so terrible that they have ceased to be a revelation to us, but can startle only English readers.

It would be ungrateful on the part of a Russian not to mention also the splendid leaders and articles of the *Morning Post*. I am quoting now just a few general facts which show that anybody who cares to know the truth can easily be informed from the most authentic and accessible sources. How can you account now for the strange voices often heard in England that, after all, things in Russia are not probably so bad as they are printed? What better testimonies can be required or secured?

The evidence against Bolshevism is truly overwhelming! There is one point, however, which is being lost sight of, and that point is a practical one. People ignore the material consequences which naturally will follow that apparent indifference. There are still, in spite of all the numerous murders committed by the Bolsheviks under the ægis of official atheism, many Russians who are alive who not only hope for the recovery of Russia, but are convinced of the day of her resurrection. Before the war there were 180,000,000 Russians, amongst whom there were so many friends of England and the Allied cause. If we assume—as we may rightly assume—that the sacrifices of Russia in the war, followed by the fiendish murders, accompanied by unspeakable tortures, of the Bolsheviks, have led to a diminution of the entire population of Russia by 10 per cent, there still remain 162,000,000 who will be either the friends or the enemies of the English people in the future. When, therefore, I mention

the apparent indifference to the fate of Russia which is the fashion of the day, I keep wondering, Where is the advantage of that attitude? And again I ask myself, Is there anybody who cares sufficiently for the truth about Russia to understand that the time is ripe, not only for abstract sympathy, but something more concrete and effective, as has been demonstrated so effectively by Colonel Ward, M P, who, returning himself from Russia, spoke *en connaissance de cause*? Such an attitude has been shown, for instance, by General Page Croft when he wrote that England could at all events help the Russians by making available for her the large stocks of medical stores, warm clothing, and ammunition of which there remain after the war such an abundance. As a woman, passionately fond of children, I would appeal to English mothers to help the poor little Russians who are dying now in thousands for want of food and clothing. English women, I feel sure will pardon my appealing for their support, as I have already done in the *Daily Mail* on Friday, October 31, in response to which I have received many precious letters

OLGA NOVIKOFF



## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,  
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

### EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

On January 19, in the Lincolnshire Rooms (Westminster Palace Hotel), Miss F. R. Scatcherd will deliver her long promised paper on "Friends of India, Wise and Otherwise" (3.45 p.m.)

A Joint Session of the Royal Asiatic Society, la Société Asiatique, the American Oriental Society, and la Scuola Orientale, Reale Università di Roma, was held in London on September 3 to 6. In the regrettable absence of Lord Reay, the President, and Sir Mortimer Durand, the Director, the chair was taken by Sir Charles Lyall, who said

"The last time the Triennial International Congress of Orientalists assembled was at Athens in 1912. A meeting was to have taken place at Oxford in 1915, but the war made it impossible. With the advent of peace comes the epoch of reconstruction and this, for Oriental studies in the West, is the inaugural meeting for the establishment of fresh effort. The proposal for this reunion came to us from M. Senart. It was his view that the Triennial Congresses of Orientalists had become rather occasions of entertainment and amusement than serious reunions for the purpose of a review of progress achieved and plans for future work, and that it was advisable that Orientalists should meet more frequently for the purpose of keeping in touch with one another, and considering the plans most likely to advance the cause of Oriental research among the nations which the war has brought together in a bond of the closest friendship and common aspiration. These representations were warmly received by the Royal Asiatic Society, and the present gathering is the result.

"Among the changes wrought by the war is the severance from the Turkish Empire of most of its outlying provinces, which opens to scientific and archaeological research vast tracts hitherto in a great measure closed."

On September 6 there took place a reunion of the standing committees for the purposes of drafting resolutions.

The first resolution was moved by Professor A. A. Macdonell

"That a sub-committee of the Oriental Societies taking part in this Joint Session be appointed to consider the best means of realizing the scheme of establishing an Institute for International Research in India, such Committee in due course to report the result of its deliberations to the Standing Committees of the associated societies."

Mr F W Thomas moved, in the name of the Joint Standing Committees,

"That a committee consisting of Professor Cabaton, Professor Finot, Sir George Grierson, Mr Blagden, Mr F W Thomas, together with one or more representatives of the International Phonetic Association, should be appointed to continue the work of the committee on Indo Chinese Transliteration."

Professor Clay proposed that a Report of the Joint Session should be published in the Journals of the three Societies

Mr F W Thomas proposed a resolution drawn up by M Senart on behalf of the Committees in the following terms

"That a Committee consisting of Messrs Sylvain Lévi, F W Thomas, and J H Woods (with possible extensions later), should be formed with a view to studying and preparing the publication of a general dictionary of Buddhism"

It was also proposed by him in the name of the Joint Standing Committees that the Joint Session urges upon the Government of India the extreme desirability of procuring, when circumstances permit, facilities for the archæological exploration of Balkh and the adjoining regions. After a speaker had suggested the substitution of the name "Bamian" for "Balkh," this resolution was also adopted

For the afternoon a visit to Kew Gardens had been arranged, and about forty members proceeded thither in motor cars which had been procured by the generosity and resource of Mr Robert Mond

The banquet to which the Royal Asiatic Society had invited the visitors from America, France, and Italy, was also honoured by the attendance of the Chinese Minister, Signor Balsamo, representing the Italian Embassy, Sir David Prain, and Sir Hercules Read

In lecturing before the Royal Society of Arts on British Trade in China, Mr H B Morse, LL D, paid a tribute to the work of the China Consular Service. He said "An idea is prevalent that men with business training should be selected as commercial attaches. That is an error. The commercial attaché must be, first of all, a diplomatist, he must ferret out the business secrets of the country he is working in, and the business secrets of his rivals in that country, much as the military attaché has to ferret out military secrets. A man who has qualified in the severe test of the Civil Service examinations, has then undergone the varied and broadening training of the China Consular Service, and has then been selected by his superiors to be a commercial attaché, is more likely to acquire the requisite knowledge of business methods and requirements than a man with a solely business training is to acquire the other qualities needed. The China Consular Service is a special service, requiring special training owing to the difficult language and to the complicated duties arising from the privilege of extra territoriality enjoyed by all Europeans. I have known several commercial attachés and formed a respect for their work."

In the subsequent discussion the Chairman, Mr. Byron Brenan, said

In view of the immense opportunities which were now being presented in China, why should not their great manufacturers, engineers, and

financiers all join hands, sinking their rivalry and competition, and work together towards one common object? It was not only that they would make money while they were doing so, but they would be preparing a wealthy and prosperous China, which would be a huge factor in future international trade.

Sir Charles Addis wished to acknowledge publicly the great debt due, by the whole of the commercial community dealing with China, to Mr. Morse for the work he had done. This work would endure, and he had paid a compliment to all the Fellows of the Society in delivering his paper that evening.

Professor C. A. Middleton-Smith said that, for the last seven years, he had been in the University of Hong Kong attempting to train young Chinese in applied science work, and every year he had been brought into contact with those Chinese his admiration and respect for them had increased."

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On November 19, a meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at 22, Albemarle Street, when Sir Maurice de Bunsen delivered an address entitled "*The Old and New Levant Company.*" After recording the history of the old company, which lasted from 1581 to 1825, having been carried on under royal charter, and paying a tribute to the work done by successive generations of the Whittalls and others, Sir Maurice pointed out that when the new Levant Company was formed towards the end of 1918, the first thing it did was to establish the closest relations with J. Whittall and Co. Ltd., who possess some forty eight branches and agencies throughout Turkey in Europe and Asia Minor. The new company may be described as an offshoot of the British Trade Corporation. This powerful body was formed in the early period of the war, and under the special auspices of Lord Faringdon, in order that something might be done to remove from British banking the reproach of withholding from British industry the support and encouragement more freely accorded to German producers and manufacturers by the banks of that country.

In Turkey and Asia Minor this new company works exclusively through Messrs. Whittall's, in Greece there is the Levant Company (Greece), Ltd., which was represented at the Athens Exhibition. There is a branch in Serbia, and also in Roumania. In South Russia its branches centre in Odessa, Novorossisk, and Rostoff on the Don, in the Caucasus at Batoum, in Mesopotamia at Bagdad, in Egypt at Alexandria, in Syria and Palestine at Beyrout and Jaffa. The Levant Company (Sudan), Ltd., has been set up at Khartoum. Early extension is hoped for to Persia. The head office is, of course, in London.

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A very successful Red Cross sale has been held in Belgrave Square, and was opened by Princess Christian on December 2. Among the stallholders were Countess Carlov, Lady Wernher, Countess Medina. Among the objects for sale was a beautiful piece of jewellery given by Madame Novikoff, which has been referred to in *The Times*. Among those who made purchases were the King of Portugal and the Queen of Spain.

# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

### INDIA

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA By Radhakumud Mookerji,  
M A, PH D (Oxford *Clarendon Press*) 1919 12s 6d net

Dr Mookerji has written a most learned and thorough study of the local bodies of ancient India. It is interesting to find that the South supplies much more evidence than the North, and it looks as if the balance of past historical investigations, on the political and military side, to which Mr Vincent Smith has drawn attention, may now be redressed, on the constitutional side, by a closer investigation of *origines* in the South. The existence of a system of social self government, that of Hindu India, throughout 'the Muhammadan period,' is abundantly proved indeed, the author considers this survival so strong and so fully operative as to render the often used phrase a misnomer. There was not a Muhammadan period, he would say, because Indian activity was still Hindu. Lord Crewe in a valuable "Foreword" calls attention to the special significance of the book to day

W H H

THE SEROV By Edmund Candler (London *John Murray*) 1919  
7s 6d, net

Very happily very special attention has of recent years been paid in England to the history of our Indian troops. Not only has Mr Fortescue reached the campaigns of Lake and Wellesley, and most admirably described them, but there have been picturesque books like Major Mac Munn's exciting short history of the Armies of India, with Major Lovett's fascinating illustrations, a book which Lord Roberts justly praised for its "masterly review," and authoritative records such as Colonel Merewether's history of the Indian Corps in France, "one of the most radiant chapters," Lord Curzon has called it, "in the glorious history of the Indian Army." The heroic deeds of Indian troops in Mesopotamia remain to be told in detail. But meanwhile Mr Edmund Candler, most sympathetic and brilliant of correspondents travelling with Oriental troops, presents us with this charming sketch of the characteristics of the different regiments. It is really a first-rate little book, full of zest and spirit from beginning to end, and full, too, of the knowledge which comes from intimacy and understanding. In a series of sketches Mr. Candler

describes the Indian soldier as he is found to-day—the Gurkha, the Sikh, the Punjabi Mussalman, the Pathan, the Dogra, the Mahratta, the Jat, the Rajput, and many less well known but not inferior races and types. The pictures are most vivid, and the predominant characteristic of each section is illustrated with stories humorous, pathetic, or bloodcurdling. There is no other way to describe the book, and it would be unfair to quote its best stories. It is unquestionably a book to be read, a book to make English people love their Indian fellow-subjects.

W. H. H.

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SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF LORD SINHA (Madras *G. A. Natesan and Co*)

As has been well said by His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanir, Lord Sinha holds the wonderful record of being the first Indian appointed Advocate-General in Bengal, the first Indian to serve on the Executive Council of the Governor General, the first Indian to be made a King's Counsel and a Privy Councillor and a member of His Majesty's Government, and, finally, the first Indian to be raised to the Peerage of the Realm. And his country is justly proud of him, not only for this, but because his views on public questions have always been those of a patriotic, sober, just minded, ardent, yet sweetly-reasonable, Indian. The esteem and respect in which he was held by his fellow countrymen was illustrated when he was elected President of the Indian National Congress held in Bombay in 1915, and in his opening address at that Congress he did not hesitate to profess his abiding confidence in the British character, and declared that the East and the West had not met in vain, and that no other nation had fought so continuously and strenuously for the freedom of other nations as the English. The picture of the future of India that most appealed to him was one in which Britons and Indians would be fellow citizens of a common Empire, sharing a common and splendid heritage, all of them bringing their special talents to work co-operatively for the common good of the whole. He, therefore, appealed to all sections of his own people to express in unmistakable language their abhorrence of the dastardly crimes which besmured the fair fame of their country, and he implored them so to co-operate with the authorities as to render the detection and punishment of such crimes absolutely certain.

At the same time he appealed to the British nation to pronounce their ungrudging approval of the goal to which the peoples of India aspired, and to declare their inflexible resolution to equip India for her journey to that goal, and to furnish her with due escort on the long, weary road.

He pointed out that the war had afforded a splendid opportunity, demonstrating the courage, loyalty, devotion, and tenacity of Indian troops, and affording a striking proof of the wisdom of those who had shown confidence in India, and trusted the fitness of Indians to grasp the dignity and the real possibilities of citizenship. In short, in all his utterances, Lord Sinha has always displayed a profound patriotism for his mother-country, with the utmost loyalty to the British Crown, and a



grateful appreciation of all that India's connection with Great Britain has meant for his native land

He has fully realized that Britain and India, "united," will stand, and "divided" will fall. India needs Britain and Britain needs India, and law, order, and good government have always been as dear to Lord Sinha as the continued political advancement of his fellow-countrymen, and, as an Indian gentleman, his own brilliant and honourable record and untarnished reputation have always been devoted to the public good.

He recognizes that the regeneration and reconstruction of India can only take place under the guidance and control of England, and deprecates the impatience of those who imagine that they have only to stretch forth their hands to grasp the prize of local self-government and self-determination.

He pleads for a spirit of mutual trust, toleration, and forbearance, while he claims equal citizenship for Indians and insists on the loyalty of the educated classes of India to their King Emperor and the Empire.

The training for freedom of one-fifth of the entire world's population—this is the exhilarating task that now confronts British statesmanship—and it involves the gradual transfer of responsibility to the people of India from the Civil Service of India, although that Service has conspicuously accomplished the greatest task ever undertaken in the history of the world by the men of one country for the people of another.

No other race, Lord Sinha (when Sir Satyendra) declared, could or would have done the work of the English in India. "I admire them—nay, I love them—for I believe that they are a people mentally and morally clean, and if I am sometimes called upon to attack them or criticize them when they seem to fall short of their own standard, it is certainly not with pleasure I do so. Let England trust us and she will never regret it. As the REVIEW has often said, 'trust begets trust,' and what is wanted in India just now is an extension of kindly feelings and of good manners on both sides, and a cordial acceptance of the conciliatory attitude, and 'the fair field' so consistently advocated by Lord Sinha of Raipur.

#### "FIVE PER CENT OF THE GROSS"

"SOME SOUTH INDIAN VILLAGES" Edited by Gilbert Slater, M A,  
D Sc (Oxford University Press) 12s 6d net

About fifty years ago I wrote an article entitled "Fifty per cent of the net," which was supposed to be equivalent to the 30 per cent of the gross to which the State as co sharer was always considered to be entitled, just as the English landlord claimed about one third of the crop as *rent*. In that article I criticized, (adversely I have no doubt), the procedure of the Settlement Department in arriving at that figure. Now we have a Professor of Economics in Madras, after a most elaborate survey of villages in eleven different districts by Indian students, working in or near their own homes, telling us that the *average incidence of the Land Revenue in those villages now cannot be more than 5 per cent of the gross produce*

That is what many of us have been saying for many years, but the people of this country prefer the evidence of the late Mr Kerr Hardie and Mr Smilie. No doubt, as the reviewer in *The Times* Literary Supplement points out, these few surveys do not afford sufficient data on which to generalize, but as far as they go they prove, as Dr Slater says, that the Land Revenue is *not* an effective cause of poverty, and that the popular outcry is the result of the leniency rather than the severity of the assessment, in other words, "In the existing economic environment, a low incidence of revenue does not enrich the 'people,' but merely *breeds parasitic landlords*, the income of the country is not increased, but a share of it is diverted from the public, as represented by the Government."

As to the poverty of India, Dr Slater notes that the official estimate of the average income (£2 a head, or £10 for an average family) was "very probably an under estimate in 1898, and would have to be very considerably raised now." His own estimate in 1916-17 for the Madras Presidency was "Rs 72, or nearly £5 a head," say, £25 for a family. The truth is, he says, that "India is a very rich country inhabited by very poor people." "English arable land will bear a crop of wheat *once in four years*, a paddy field in the south of India will bear one, two, or three crops of rice every year", and I might add that the best of such land was selling, when I was last in Tinnevely, for Rs 3,000 an acre, at which rate I was assured it brought a return of 6 or 7 per cent. Why, then, are the people of India poor? Well, it is certainly not because of the Government assessment even in Madras, where it is higher than in any Province of India, or in the Tambraparni Valley where it is higher than anywhere else in Madras. Dr Slater says it is partly owing to the "inefficiency of labour, the lowness of wages, submissiveness, and excessive abstinence, and certainly, we may add, the Hindu law of inheritance with its excessive subdivision of the land."

Dr Slater is only beginning his economic studies but this first volume should be read by everyone who takes an intelligent interest in the condition of India, especially by our friend Mr Hyndman, and his many misguided followers, Mrs Besant and her motley crew. Dr Slater's criticism of one of his own contributors, Mr N. Sundaram Aiyar, on page 233, would be amusing if it was not so sad as a specimen of the sort of argument constantly used by the people who ought to know better. It may be worth while to reproduce Dr Slater's words:

"Mr Sundaram Aiyar says '*The burden of taxation must be lightened*, the villagers are starving themselves to pay the taxes.' But when he comes to details of a particular holding, we find that his typical 'kanomdar,' who is a middle man supervising and financing the working tenants, draws from them an income of from 4,600 to 5,000 paras of paddy, out of which he has to pay in land revenue only 400 paras, or one-twelfth. With the help of the other information he gives we can conclude that the land revenue in this village drawn from paddy lands is about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the gross produce."

I cannot improve on the conclusion of the Review of this book in *India*, that "the illustrations are excellent, and a good glossary of terms and an Index (which might have been better!) conclude this valuable work."

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GEOLOGY OF INDIA FOR STUDENTS By D N Wadia, M A, B SC Pp xx+ 398, 8vo, with 20 plates and 37 other illustrations (*Macmillan and Co*) 18s net

This volume is an admirable textbook, well adapted to its purpose, and written by a teacher whose experience is quite evident in its pages. It is not intended to replace the comprehensive but now somewhat out of date, work of Blandford, Medlicott, and Oldham, which the mention of Indian geology calls up to the mind of those of our generation, but it embodies in compact form the gist of its teaching and of the progress made during the last twenty five years by the India Geological Survey.

After a brief description of the physical features of the country, the author plunges into its stratigraphical description, forming the bulk of the book, then he deals with physiography in a rather short chapter, followed by economic geology, and a compact monograph of the geology of Kashmir. His treatment of the subject is broad and comprehensive, one would almost think that he was reached by the circular from the French Government to teachers of geology, requesting them to abstain from loading the student's memory with lengthy lists of fossil species—indeed, Mr Wadia confines himself to naming genera. He illustrates his chapters with sections, and with key maps at the end of the volume but we cannot help thinking that he might with advantage have added some sketch maps of the *whole* of India showing the relations between the various systems, much as Lapparent, Boule, and others, have done in their textbooks of geology used by French students. Geology, speaking from some experience in teaching it, requires a mass of illustrations—photographs, and maps, and it is a wise policy to give them in textbooks, an admirable example being Tarr's *College Physiography*, which Mr Wadia might add to his bibliography.

While commending the book as a whole, we may perhaps be permitted to mention a few shortcomings we found but two misprints—read *enstatite* (p 57) and *Spodumène* (p 324) instead of the present mistakes—but a few errors or misstatements of fact. We cannot let pass without a protest the words *terra cotta* as the name of a *raw* clay, nor can we agree with the author's definition of peat, he should read Lapparent on "tourbe," and the excellent reports published by the Canadian Geological Survey, and amend that short paragraph (p 296). Nor, do we believe, is amber used in medicine, generally speaking, but in native medicine only. There appears also to be some mistake about the manufacture of tungsten wire, chromite is used chiefly in the manufacture of bichromates, and incidently becomes of interest in that way to Indian tanners. It is tantalizing to read that *salajit* is a solid hydrocarbon, without its true nature being stated. It is ignored by Dana, and likewise by Watts, to whose work the reader not familiar with Indian bazaars is likely to turn for information.

The sketch of the theories of the origin of petroleum might have been extended to include the more recent American theories involving the consideration of diatoms, and reference made to the Canadian publication thereon, further, Mr Wadia does not mention the important bearing of salt (including the bromides and iodides) upon Ochsénus's theory

Here and there the style is somewhat involved—*e.g.*, "under such a state of circumstance" (p 279) might well be corrected to a simpler sentence

These, however, are minor points which do not diminish the value of the book to students, presumably already acquainted with geology in a general way, and who will find in its pages the information necessary for their examinations, together with constant incitement to seek in other more specialized publications the smaller details which only the specialist requires Particularly welcome is the repeated injunction to the student to keep geological maps before him during his study The book must have involved immense research, and it betokens true love of his subject by its author

H I J

COURTESY IN THE BRAHMAN OLIGARCHY \* By Annie Besant

Courtesy is one of the commonplaces of controversy, and I shall not therefore emulate Mrs Besant in her use of such adjectives as "impudent" and "absurd" In fact, there is little to cavil at in her exposition of the meaning and connotation of caste, for it is quite true and within the knowledge of many that a Brahman may be a clerk or a judge, a prince or a constable It is also true that the "oppression" of out castes, whatever meaning we may attach to the word, is not the monopoly of Brahmans But the insistence on the value of wealth to be found in paragraphs 2 and 4 of the leaflet savours suspiciously of the platform, for no one knows better than Mrs Besant that mere wealth counts for little against the educational superiority, the greater energy, and the immemorial prestige of the Brahman The attack on Europeans in the latter part of the pamphlet is very misleading It is difficult to assume that Mrs Besant does not know that in her own province of Madras there was quite recently an inquiry into the working of the Forest Laws by a committee of five, of which two were Indians, possibly she may not know that the eternal question of pasture lands, with their ludicrously inadequate supply of grass, which involves the further problems of promiscuous breeding, cattle disease, and over preservation of inferior stock, is constantly before the Government in general and the Agricultural Department in particular Possibly she may not know that in her own province of Madras there is not a district which has less than 2,000 guns, that special rewards are offered for man eating tigers, and that the man eating tiger is the most elusive of animals, so that even if the Sahib arrives with his rifle it is ten chances to one that he never sees the tiger If the other accusations—over taxation, the cutting off of the old customary privileges, the

\* Home Rule for India League (British Auxiliary), Leaflet No 14

rising death rate and the rest—have to be passed over in silence, it is not the silence of consent but rather the silence which awaits something in the nature of proof of their assertions

Finally, the planters are convicted out of their own mouth of the desire to enslave the worker. Of course it is very wicked of the tea-planter to be so much interested in the tea industry, just as it is very wicked of British Labour to become his accomplice by consuming the tea. But somehow a wicked world is inclined to look to its own interests and to satisfy its own wants. Is there really anything very dreadful in an appeal to planters to "look ahead and be prepared to meet the gradually changing conditions"? The vast majority of the Indian people is agricultural, working on its own land or for its Indian masters, a fraction of the remainder is "held in the iron grip of the foreign capitalist and exploiter." For the sake of that fraction, in the words of Mrs. Besant, "may we not hope that British Labour will help" by doing without its tea? May we not indulge in the further hope that the "iron grip" of the great British firms, through whom Indian traders reach foreign markets, may be relaxed, so that Indian trade may work out its own salvation—sink probably or possibly swim?

### THE NEAR EAST

PAN ISLAM. By G. Wyman Bury. (London *Macmillan*) Pp 212  
1919 6s net

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR D. S. MARCOLLIUO, LITT. D.)

Mr Wyman Bury's new book contains an amount of valuable information quite out of proportion to its size. The matter is of a decidedly miscellaneous character, and includes history, geography, anthropology, theology, natural history, and homiletics. What he has to say on all these subjects is decidedly worth hearing, whence we have no cause for complaint.

Of all the "side-shows" of the Great War perhaps the Aden campaign attracted least attention. Mr Bury's account tallies exactly with what the reviewer heard on the spot, and exhibits a fresh illustration of the well known British talent for blundering through. The public did not realize how near Great Britain came to losing this valuable station on the Arabian coast. Mr Bury is able to give details of the campaign in these regions which could have been obtained by no one who had not (like himself) taken part in the transactions, armed with his unique knowledge of the geography, the conditions, and the dialects of Arabia.

His is the only work known to the present writer in which the political situation in South Arabia is explained with reasonable clearness and suggestions of any value are made for the future government of the country.

Mr Bury's acquaintance with Islamic lands is by no means confined to Arabia, but extends to all Mohammedan countries, of which he has provided a useful map. Much of what he says is reassuring, thus he is

satisfied with the results of French preponderance in Morocco, and according to him these in no way correspond with the gloomy forecast of Mr Ashmead Bartlett's *Passing of the Sherrefian Empire*. His history of the Pan-Islamic movement and its failure in the hands of Germans and Turks is highly expert and explains all the facts.

His account of the Somalis and their country, and the enterprise of the Mad Mullah, contains much which is unfamiliar, if not new, and again illustrates the incompetence with which matters are managed in these out of the way possessions and protectorates.

A considerable portion of Mr Bury's book deals with the missionary problem. His view is that to some regions no missions of any sort should be sent, in the remaining countries of Islam missionary activity should be confined to education and good works. Though his tone is that of an orthodox Anglican, he has great admiration for Islam, to some extent (though not exclusively) as a teetotal religion. The reviewer is disposed to agree with most of what he says, but fancies he has overlooked, or at least taken insufficient account of, one practical difficulty. It is that the subscribers to missions are warmly interested in proselytism, mildly so in philanthropy, and scarcely at all in education. The savagery prevalent in Mohammedan states—e.g., handcutting for theft, still practised in Koweit—can be abolished only by strong government, which while tolerating Islamic worship, abnegates the Islamic codes. Consciously or unconsciously the proselytizing missions prepare the way for the introduction of such civilized control.

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HISTORY OF ZIONISM, 1600-1918. By Nahum Sokolow. Vol II, pp lxiii, 480 (London Longmans, Green and Co 1919) 21s net

(Reviewed by PRINCIAL W H BENNETT, LIT D, D D)

The first volume of this work has already been noticed in these columns. This volume starts from the close of the first Zionist Conference in 1897, and deals with the history to the end of 1918. The character of this portion of the work is the same as that of the previous volume, the interest and importance are maintained at the same high level. There is further evidence of the division of opinion amongst the Jews as to the ideals of Zionism. We gather, however, that the majority are in favour of the movement, and we should imagine that many who are not Zionists might yet favour the establishment of an autonomous Jewish community in Palestine on practical grounds. The author deals with the difficulties arising from the presence in Palestine of a large non Jewish population, and from the interest of Christians and Mohammedans in their respective holy places. The leaders of the Zionist movement are fully alive to these problems, and are prepared to handle them in a liberal and conciliatory spirit. See especially LXXXVI of the Appendix, "Lord Gwydyr on Zionism and the Arabs". We do not notice, however, any reference to one feature of the problem, the fact that at present the Jews are only a

comparatively small minority of the population. There is full information as to the numerous emphatic declarations by representatives of the allied Governments in favour of Zionism. A less cheerful subject is the account of the savage persecution of the Jews under the Russian autocracy in 1906 and in the early years of the war. In 1906 "something like 1,400 pogroms took place, the number of persons directly affected . . . reached a total of some 200,000 to 250,000 . . . , the casualty list was estimated at approximately 20,000 murdered and 100,000 injured." According to our author, the Russian Government took advantage of the military necessity of evacuating certain districts to inflict barbarous treatment on the Jews, he speaks of "the curious mixture of expulsion and evacuation, of pogroms and slaughters, of which they were the victims" (p. 34).

The greater part of this volume is occupied with reprints of documents referred to in the text.

SHFKEI HAKODESH (The Holy Shekel), by Joseph Kimchi, and YESOD HAYIRAH (The Foundation of Religious Fear). Edited by Hermann Gollancz, M.A., D.Lit. Pp. xx + 209. (Oxford University Press) 1919. 21s net.

(Reviewed by PRINCIPAL W. H. BENNETT, LL.D., D.D.)

The *Shekel Hakodesh* is a metrical collection of maxims and proverbs, written in Hebrew, by Joseph Kimchi of Narbonne, 1105-1170, father of the celebrated David Kimchi. It is based on earlier collections, Hebrew and Arabic. As far as the *Shekel Hakodesh* is concerned, this work is an *editio princeps*: the Hebrew text is printed for the first time, and Dr. Gollancz has added an English translation, Introduction, and Notes, the latter are critical. The *Yesod Hayirah* is similar to the *Shekel*, each chapter opens with the words "Fear God," except that in some texts the first chapter begins "I fear the Lord." Dr. Gollancz is unable to offer any solution of the problem of the authorship of *Yesod*, but regards it as closely connected with the *Shekel*, he says nothing expressly as to its date, but apparently assigns it to the same period as the *Shekel*. The "Proverbs and Maxims" are good examples of the shrewd, pawky, and yet devout "Wisdom" of the Jews. For instance, from the *Shekel*, I. 16. "A man of wisdom will continue in the search for wisdom, seeking knowledge wherever it may dwell or be kept. There is no fool equal to him who may think that he has finished and completed his studies." I. 29. "Why dost thou find that it is the way of the world for the wise to be knocking at the door of the rich? Because the wise of heart, knowing the folly of the rich, make allowance for their poverty in sense when compared with their own." X. 222. "Shouldst thou need a gift, ask rather of one who once was rich and hath become poor, than ask of one who was once poor and is a man of means." XXI. 411. "The world grows sick of the society of those who never cease prating." As one might expect from the circumstances of the Jews in the Middle Ages, there is much in a minor key, on the value of endurance, contentment and humility—for instance,

from *Yesod* VII 77 "Is it not better to endure that which you have neither strength nor the power to remove? What is better calculated to remove the worries and sorrows of a man than the power of endurance which comes to his aid? Herein lies the panacea for all mourning and grief, the healing of all the ills of the flesh." In XIV 156, on the difficulty of safeguarding secrets, we have a curious application of Habakkuk 11 11 "Fix a suitable spot under the heavens, for why wouldest thou destroy men of uprightness? Understand that the stones cry out of the wall and the rafter speaks forth what is in the innermost recesses Lower, therefore, thy voice when thou givest council at eventide, and look about at thy surroundings when thou givest it at morning dawn."

The book is beautifully got up, and is a valuable addition to the number of accessible Rabbinic texts

### FAR EAST

ROMANCES OF OLD JAPAN By Madame [Y T | Yukio Ozaki Pp 278  
Small 4to, with 32 plates by Japanese artists, 16 in colours (*Simpkin  
Marshall*) 30s net

Mrs Ozaki, the half-English, half Japanese, wife of the Japanese political leader, who some years ago was Mayor of Tokyo and late Minister of Justice, needs no introduction to readers of Japanese tales, under the name Yei Theodora Ozaki she has already published three collections of translations of fairy tales and stories of warriors told in easy, pleasing style This new book contains eleven stories ranging from the Middle Ages to within half a century of the present day, and most of which are famous in Japan, as tales or as theatrical plays, some like "Kesa Gozen" and the story of "Matsuo" finding their way into popular imagery and the decoration of sword mounts Both these and the "Quest of the Sword" are famous examples of Japanese loyalty, and of that stern sense of duty which the education of the Samurai put in the first place Almost all Japanese folk tales contain at least one ghost, and Mrs Ozaki has given us here some ghost stories, two fairy tales, one Buddhist story The book is well got up, free from misprints, and, even to one who has long known some of the originals, thoroughly readable, in fact, the present writer never let it out of his hands until finished, at one long enjoyable sitting It should be a most acceptable gift-book, but why was the colour plate opposite p 212 printed out of register? Is it a new way to suggest motion? The printer could easily do better For instance, the plate showing Endo Morito holding the head of Kesa Gozen and gasping with unutterable horror is beautifully done

H L J

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JAPANESE POETRY THE UTA. By Arthur Waley Pp 110 Small 4to  
(*Clarendon Press.*) Price 6s 6d

This book gives one the impression of being a students' note book used in the study of Japanese poetry with or without native help, and now offered to the public as a means of enlightenment written by a master



The short Japanese poems are set with a parallel translation, the lines of which are reshuffled to facilitate their apprehension by the reader, and numbered so that he who wishes may put text and translation side by side. It is a curious device, calculated to trip the hurried and unwary, and even some would-be panegyrist . . . A rapid perusal shows that the translations are fair, and the book should take its place with such as Porter's translations. Mr Waley, in his usual way, is very dogmatic, and does not spare harsh criticism to those who made the trail easier for men of his age, his cheap, half hidden sneer at Professor B H Chamberlain is distinctly out of place in his complete bibliography of Japanese poetry. His criticism of Lange's may some day be applied to his own efforts. Anyone might, for instance, call Mr Waley's attention to his translation on p 55 of Hitomaro's classical ditty, and require chapter and verse in justification of the footnote, because (1) it is far from obvious that it is a poem of parting, and the treatment of the subject by Japanese artists is against that contention, (2) the authorship may be uncertain and the occasion also, but tradition has always ascribed the poem to Hitomaro, (3) the translation is no improvement on those already in existence. There are a sketch of Japanese Grammar and a Vocabulary which make the book more useful, but an Index should have been provided. On p 93 Sugawara should be Sugawara no Michizane, and, by the way, there are amongst his many poems several more popular than the one here given.

H. L. J

THE MASTERY OF THE FAR EAST By Arthur Judson Brown Pp 669  
8vo, with a map and illustrations (*G Bell and Sons*) 28s. net

(Reviewed by H. L. JOLY)

The sub-title of this large book describes it as "The Story of Korea's Transformation and Japan's Rise to Supremacy in the Orient," but this is only two thirds of the truth, as *Punch* said once of A. Smith's initials, for the book is divided into three parts. Korea, Japan, and two hundred pages on the Christian missions and the problem of the Far East. The author is a careful, conscientious compiler, and he has boiled down into two hundred pages each the history of Korea and that of Japan, as an American he writes presumably for Americans primarily, and much of his story would be unnecessary if the American public knew more of Japan than the following quotation from the "Far East" indicates.

"It is good to learn that Akimoto Shun has been deeply impressed by American ignorance of Japan. He says in the *Advertiser* 'As far as my observation and experience tell, all that the average American knows about Japan is that it is a small country far away, which produces tea, silk, paper lanterns, and kimonos, and also great numbers of small objectionable creatures, called immigrants, for the explicit purpose of harassing American labourers. And the knowledge, or rather the lack of knowledge, of the cultivated men of America, who may be supposed to know better, does not seem to soar much above this level.'"

Mr Brown's book should enlighten his countrymen considerably. He has been so careful to present both sides of the question in the relations, now so much discussed, between Japan and Korea, that he seems loth to come right out with a definite conclusion, indeed, he works hard towards one, but one which can be acceptable to the missionary mind only—namely, that Japan would be a good master of the Far East were it but Christian. That is the kernel of Mr. Brown's seven hundred pages, it is tantamount to say, "Come into the fold of Christianity as expounded by Americans, and all will be well." One does not want to waste ink discussing that plea, all that mixing up of religion and politics reminds one of the negro king's description of his kingdom's subjugation "Gin, Bible, lobsters", the latter being too well known a military slang expression to need explanation. In the same way we see the "Korea Review printed in Philadelphia for the Korean Republic," asking for the help of the world to obtain independence for "poor *Christian Korea* (italics ours), and that sort of thing lets the cat out of the bag. Where Mr Brown deals with historical facts he is fairly careful to give, as we said, both sides of the question, but when he gets on to missionary endeavours and influence his quotations are one sided *pro domo sua*, his statements biased even to the point of being contrary to fact, as when he says that the missionary was the first to teach science and to explain the uses of steam and electricity in the Far East, when he exaggerates and distorts the daily bowing before the portrait of the Japanese Emperor, and calls it "ceremonial worship." All Mr Brown's pleas for missionary schools in Korea to be on an equal footing with the Government schools in which no religion is taught can be dealt with by comparison with the similar system that some time prevailed in France, and by remembering that all the agitation in Korea at present is fomented by Korean converts. And Mr Brown, who presumably knows what he is talking about, gives them a broad hint when he writes (p. 372) "The large way" (of viewing the Japanese Administration) "is to note that in the evolution of the race and the development of the plan of God, the time had come when it was for the best interests of the world and for the welfare of the Koreans themselves that Korea should come under the tutelage of Japan." *Agimus tibi gratia*. We wish Mr. Brown's book a large number of readers, if he prints a second edition he might correct the dozen or so of misprints, chiefly in proper names, in the Japanese section.

## RUSSIA

THE DARK PEOPLE. By Ernest Poole (*Macmillan and Co*) 1919  
 THE VILLAGE. By Ernest Poole (*Macmillan and Co*) 1919

These excellently written books should be read together, as they give a clever and sympathetic American visitor's impressions of Russia during her crisis from July, 1917, and of a visit later in the August of that year with his interpreter to the latter's native village in the heart of the country, where he saw village life from the inside. Thus, though not actually at

first hand, he had an opportunity of gaining some knowledge of Russia and the Russians after the Revolution, and it is obvious that the affection that Russia inspires in so many strangers gripped him strongly. His "Dark People" are the Russian peasants—for, as he points out, Russia is still a peasant land—who have until now been inarticulate, and even now are swayed by group after group of politicians. He describes the rise and fall of the eloquent Kerensky, and says that his fall meant that 160,000,000 people were left without government. Nevertheless, he noticed the profound truth that "the Slavs have a deep instinct for getting along without any law," until the Bolsheviks seized upon the power with their programme of "socialized industries." Still, he points out, every Russian question leads back to the villages, and 'until the peasant is satisfied, nothing is settled, nothing is sure'. The purification of the abuses in the Orthodox Church is one of his hopes, so is the future of the emancipated "Old Believers," who have gained so much power in the past in spite of fearful oppression at the hands of their brothers in league with autocracy. It remains to be seen however, how religious liberty will harmonize with the Bolshevik régime—for, as he says, 'What is Russia *really* doing?' His pictures of the villagers, their lives, sometimes sordid, sometimes noble, show that he and his friendly guide understood each other well, and help us to visualize the village life. He shows that in the country noble and peasant families often had a matrimonial tie between them, that the old serf days are by no means forgotten, and that there are many evil results still of the Old Régime. Chief among these are the insufficient means of communication and, among a people eager for instruction, an entire lack of sufficient enlightenment and education. Yet he shows how lovable the villagers are, and he hopes for their future. Let us take his advice. "To help them," he says "we must understand. We must realize that Russia may not settle down for years. And we should not wait for that, we should seize every possible chance to give aid—or the Germans, superior in civilization to the Russians, will do it. We should work as hard as they. We should grimly refuse to be disheartened or give up, no matter what disappointments fall, for in the elevation and direction of the "Dark People" of the villages lies our hope of the best solution of the Russian question.

A FRANCIS STEUART

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN RUSSIA. By William E. Johnson. (*American Publishing Co.*)

The above is a very interesting and richly illustrated volume by the now famous Mr. Johnson. It is the result of studies on Russian Social Problems which were commenced by the author in 1913. He acknowledges that the greatest men in Russia have recognized the national mistake of the vodka monopoly, of which one of the inspiring geniuses was Count Witte. It is pointed out that the monopoly was overthrown by the exigencies of war and, it may be added, the statesmanship of the Tsar, but its days long since, like the days of Serfdom, seventy five years ago, have been numbered.

He makes the following interesting observation about the liquor problem in the Baltic Provinces

"It is because temperance activities in these provinces have been so generally promoted by the revolutionary element that the Russian Government has always been suspicious of the Baltic anti alcohol reformers. The German brewers were more influential with the Russian governor than the peasant and tenant class. And there is some justification for this feeling of suspicion in Russian circles. Mr Jean Seskis, the editor of *Dsmstenes Wehstnesis*, the largest daily paper in Riga, and which is published in the Lettish language, told me in 1913 that the 'temperance movement and the revolutionary movement are one and the same thing'. It represents a revolt against the baronial brewer and the Russian Government vodka monopoly."

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### GENERAL

"WAKE UP, ENGLAND!" By Granville C Cunningham (*P S King and Co*) 1919 Pp 9—126

This book seems to have been written in 1917, though not issued till the present year. The author (most of whose life has been spent in Canada) feels it to be his task "to rouse the British nation to the necessity of forming a Government for the British Empire. He is impressed by the fact that "at present there is no Government of the Empire: there are numerous different Governments over different parts of the Empire but there is no one Central Government where questions common to and affecting the whole Empire can be discussed and adjudicated upon. He had already published in 1895, "A Scheme for Imperial Federation," and he now returns to the subject in the new light thrown upon it by the experience of the war. In the first chapter, 'Food and Raw Material, the value of the Colonies to the Mother Country is powerfully and energetically demonstrated. We regard this demonstration as the best part of the book. It is very concise and clear, and is written upon a full and accurate basis of facts. The main thesis is that "there is nothing agricultural, mineral, or forestal, that is required or needed for the use and enjoyment of man, but can be found—and found in ample quantities"—within the confines of the British Empire" ('except cork,' adds the author with a touch of humour), with the corollary, "Better for us in the future to get everything we can from our own possessions even if at first we have to pay more for it, rather than build up a foreign Power that may in the future become an enemy." This view is carefully worked out in regard to wheat, sugar, cotton, and metals, mentioning as respects the last named the amazing fact that at the outbreak of war the only place where wolfram (tungsten) existed was Burma, and the whole supply was in German hands! So with zinc, so with copper—nobody knew, nobody cared. We wish that every candidate for Parliament could be compelled to read this short but pregnant chapter. Mr Cunningham proceeds to point out that "if the Empire is to be maintained and practically made use of there must be an

organized direction of Imperial affairs," they cannot be treated as a mere adjunct to the local affairs of Great Britain. Elected as it is, the time of Parliament is almost entirely occupied with matters of immediate interest to the electors, and especially to organized labour. Such an assembly has not time to deal adequately with questions affecting the Dominions overseas, and is often too imperfectly informed upon such questions to form sound decisions upon them. He therefore advocates an Imperial Parliament for the whole Empire—and as a part of the scheme Provincial Parliaments for England, Wales, Scotland, Ulster, and South Ireland—something like the Dominion Parliament and local Legislatures of British North America. We need not follow him into the complicated details of this proposition, confining ourselves to the observation that the author of the scheme himself does not venture to define what would be the position of *India* under it (p. 107). But he is unquestionably right in regarding the subject as one of vital and immediate importance to the Empire. The admission of the self governing Dominions as direct participants in the treaty of peace has effected an organic change in old conditions, and this change cannot stand alone. An Empire which comprises about a fifth of the whole world must find the right way of co-ordinating its several parts in an enduring system of self government. The question of Dominion representation, whether in a supreme Parliament or an Imperial Council, is closely bound up with the trade of the Empire and the use, for the benefit of the whole, of its vast resources. These treasures must never again be allowed to be controlled by alien enemies. Every politician, everyone who has fought or suffered or made sacrifices in the terrible years that are past ought to devote his deepest thought to the serious and urgent question of the future government of the Empire. This timely little book is well adapted to promote serious thought on the subject, and we hope it may have a large circulation.

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THE SEA COMMONWEALTH AND OTHER PAPERS Edited by A P Newton (*J M Dent and Sons*) 1919 Pp 130

The six papers contained in this book, which are entirely unconnected with each other, were delivered as lectures in an Imperial Studies course in the University of London, King's College, during the Session 1917-18. Of the value and indeed the imperative necessity of such studies there can be no doubt. A democracy which has suddenly found itself charged with the settlement of the affairs of a world in confusion is in sore need of a larger store of knowledge—historical, geographical, and ethnographical—than most of its members possess. These lectures, by authors whose competence is undoubted, and packed full of information, will help to spread this necessary knowledge. As Mr Caxton remarked when confronted with a prophecy of universal peace, "the past helps me to judge of the present," and we feel that the University and its lecturers are entitled to high praise for their effort to promote Imperial Studies among a nation which has to decide Imperial issues. The first lecture, which gives its title to the book, "The Sea Commonwealth," by Sir Julian

Corbett, is a bold assertion of the vital necessity to the Empire of Sea Power. It is pointed out that the great members of the Empire may become separate centres of foreign policy, but that "they must one and all be dependent upon sea power, and since, in this connection at least, the sea is all one, the old bond of union reasserts itself more strongly than ever." Other Powers have chafed under it and only endured it because "all men, no matter whence they hailed, were free to come and go, free to trade as they would, free to gather and enjoy what they could find," because, in short, our sea power was a convenience to the world. So far everybody would agree, but the author's further proposition is more debatable. He sees that the desire for fiscal union within the Empire and the closing of the "open door" might produce new and formidable resistance to our sea power in the nations who have hitherto grudgingly acquiesced in it. Will they continue to do so "if so vast a measure of sea power is tainted with restriction of trade"? We do not share these apprehensions. Our sea power has always been disliked and contested. The Dutch in the seventeenth century, the French and Spanish in the eighteenth, the United States in the nineteenth, fiercely assailed it, and in the twentieth the German Empire, not deterred by the advantages of the "open door," made a deliberate effort to abolish it. It will be as much disliked in the future as it has been in the past, and if it be in the interests of the Empire to introduce fiscal union between its parts, we need not be deterred from doing so by any vain hope of making our sea supremacy popular. If the policy of Free Trade could not prevent the late terrible war, how can it be a factor in the question at all?

Very apposite to this discussion is the third essay in this volume, "The Colonial Aspirations of Germany," by (the late) J. C. Mackenzie. This writer shows how useless and futile all the friendship and all the concessions of England to Germany in colonial matters always proved because of the ulterior aims of the latter. Her avowed reasons for colonization were not the real ones. It is a fiction that Germany had a large surplus population which must find an outlet. She has to import a million foreigners to till German soil and work German mines, and the whole white population of the German colonies never exceeded 20,000. It is a fiction that she needed them for trade. "Germany's whole trade with her colonies in 1913 was just one half of one per cent. of her whole foreign trade." "German colonial aspirations are entirely contained in German world ambitions." The German aim before the war was the creation of "a Colonial Empire stretching right across Africa, linking German East Africa through the Belgian Congo with a much enlarged German Cameroon and running down through Angola to an enlarged German South West Africa" (p. 46). It was to be a *strategic* position, a new Germany based upon the open sea. And its aim would be, according to Herr Zimmermann, to interrupt the traffic between England and India or Australia. These plans of *Weltpolitik* were not frustrated by the policy of the "open door," but by British sea power.

Turning to the other essays in this volume, "France and Colonial

Power," by Professor Paul Mantoux, gives an excellent sketch of the history of the present colonial empire of France from its beginning with the conquest of Algiers in 1830, followed by an account of the products of these colonies and of their contributions of man-power during the war. He ends with the brave words that in the future "the need for bold enterprise will be found everywhere, and promises great rewards. Then it is that all the reserves of strength and wealth which the French colonies keep for France and for the world will be thrown into the scale where sinks and rises the greatness of nations" (p. 28).

The essay on "The Monroe Doctrine and its Transformation," by Professor Pollard, is of the excellence we should expect from the honoured name of its author, who touches nothing that he does not adorn. We have never seen any account of this much discussed pronouncement which gives so clear a review of the historical situation which led up to it, and of what it meant when it was uttered. Professor Pollard shows that it was in the spirit of this doctrine and its ultimate purpose of peace that the United States came into the late war. "For the nation accustomed to war regarded it as the final arbitrament wherever the conflict might arise, and the people which believed in arbitration also believed in its universal application. One or the other must become the general rule common to both the worlds, and inasmuch as no arbitration could compel the believer in war to abandon his weapons, the apostles of peace were driven to drawing the sword to disarm him" (p. 66).

The essay on "The Development of Africa," by Sir H. H. Johnston, perhaps the highest living authority on the subject, contains in thirty three pages a sketch of the whole subject of the ethnography, history, present condition, and future prospects of that continent. Beginning in the Ice Ages and sweeping through prehistoric time "forty or fifty thousand years ago," and closely packed with facts, its very conciseness and fullness render it rather bewildering to the reader. We know that the author is to be trusted, but the matter in this little essay would be easier to grasp if it were diluted into an octavo volume.

"Problems of the Pacific," by Basil Thomson, contains an interesting description of the physical beauty of the island scenery, and discussions as to the qualities and future destinies of the native races. He records conversations seventeen years ago with Dr. Solf, the former German Governor of Samoa, who confided to him his intention to copy the British methods of dealing with the natives, but that his great difficulty was money. "He could not hope to get from the Reichstag the funds necessary for colonial administration" (p. 124).

We cannot lay down this volume without expressing the hope that the University of London will continue to afford its students instruction of this character.

## POETRY

POEMS OF DAWN AND THE NIGHT By Henry Mond (London Chapman and Hall, Ltd.) 1919

This weird, wild, rollicking collection of rushing verse is full of the strength of youth, and gives promise of a middle age of Swinburnian grace and melody

From the "Dedicatory Sonnet on to the "Sapphics"—hymning the beauty, the fragrance, the body, the hair, the eyes, and the lips of "Beautiful Aphrodite of the Throne embroidered"—the lines "have been kissed and set free" by a vision that the songster describes as half of himself, who, silently folding him in her white arms, has stifled his perfect songs into perfect sighs

These songs have been named "Poems of Dawn and of the Night," but there is much of the stare and the glare and the fierce light of the full mid-day about most of them. Witness "The Staves of Youth," "The Dance," and the "Scarlet Heels." Again the young poet has evidently studied and imbibed the scornful and defiant doubts of FitzGerald, and, in so doing, has signally failed to appreciate the deep faith of the true-believing mystic, Omar, as may be seen from these lines

"Upon this earth to come I did not seek,  
And I'll have all the good things to be bought  
Within this paltry marble flung in space  
No profit to the Infinite my birth has brought,  
No profit brings my death, but in this place  
Since something me created I'll not be  
An atom—Me, through all eternity,  
The gods must tolerate for evermore  
I'm not content to lie upon the floor  
Of this foul harlot earth and take  
Such kindness as your godship pleases to make,  
I never asked thee to be made, but now  
That I am made, I must be e'en as thou!"

The Lover is out to enjoy himself whatever happens, and is determined to pursue Happiness direct for her own sake.

"Earth and Heaven vie  
Offers of Sacrament, with sensuous stare  
Of moulded colour's passionate mastery.

Ah, dear one, throw your head back once again  
And let this soft hair tumble on my hand,  
Soft as the breezes sighing thro' the bough  
Astride the woods when sunlight mingles rain,  
For in the splendour of our youth we know  
All the philosophies of every land,  
And in a kiss the Universe is ours  
And the eternities of spinning suns  
Are overreached and dwindled into dust!"



But this is a palpable case of Atalanta's apples. There is the ring of the lines on "Death," and the poet's phrase describing "a bush of dark green holly" as "merrily sprinkled with the scarlet berry" will probably live. We cannot say we like the lines on "War," or "Bellona," or "The Silver Corpse," but the simple "Evening Hymn of the Shell Shock Hospital" and "Evensong" are tender and true, and breathe the poet's soul, while even the airy and flippant "Envoi Philosophique" with which the little collection closes has poetic merit of its own. W

### CURRENT PERIODICALS

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE MONOGRAPHS Manganese Ores (116 pp), by A. H. Curtis, Tin Ores (111 pp), by G. M. Davies (*John Murray*) 3s 6d each net

To the chemist or the engineer interested in metallurgy or mining who hitherto has had to refer to the monographs published by the United States Geological Survey these books will come as a boon, they embody a mass of information worth far more than the published price, they contain extensive bibliographical appendixes, and they show how well the British Empire is endowed with mineral resources. Almost every tin bearing locality is under the Union Jack, and India comes a good second in the list of manganese producers.

Another volume in this series will deal with tungsten.

*The Review of Reviews* (November) contains a startling article entitled, "Turkish Massacres in Asia Minor," by W. A. Lloyd. A New Zealander by birth, he served with the Australian forces during the war, and has since last spring devoted his energies to an investigation of the conditions in Asia Minor since the armistice.

### LITERARY NOTES

Japanese family and personal names and place names are one of the stumbling-blocks of that difficult language, so much so that officially the personal names of members of the Diet are read in Chinese fashion to save chances of error, for instance, one may read Baichu when the owner of the name reads it Umetada, and Keiki when one should say Yoshinori. European collectors of Japanese works of art have found this rather troublesome, and lists of names of artists are found in various books, but hitherto no systematic treatise on the subject has been available. The material is so formidable that one might hesitate before dealing with it, and be content, like most of us have done, to use some makeshift. Mr. A. J. Koop, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, undertook the task some

years ago, and with an industry altogether beyond words of praise, he has dissected year-books, dictionaries, and other lists of names, classified the material, and compiled a large quarto book, which will be indispensable to all students of Japanese. The various characters and their combinations form the dictionary part of the book, and a series of introductory tables give numerical categories, names of Emperors, date names, etc., making the work as comprehensive as might be desired. The war delayed the publication of this book, but a portion of it is now almost ready for issue, interested readers should communicate with the author or with Messrs. B Quaritch.

H L J

## ASIA MINOR AND THE DODECANESE

BY ANDREAS C. MICHALOPOULOS, O.B.E.

THE Near East is a corner of the world about which many people write and talk, many politicians hold theories, and most Governments make blunders. It is a corner of the world which undoubtedly presents many difficulties, but these are constantly being increased and complicated owing to the unwillingness of those in authority to face facts honestly, or their inability to obtain from their agents an accurate account of them. In an age when Machiavellian principles are falling into discredit, and when the world is waking up to the fact that honesty is, after all, the best policy, and that a readjustment of nations in accordance with the principle of self-determination of peoples alone can ensure a durable peace, it would seem particularly desirable that an effort should be made to solve the "Eastern Problem" definitely on these lines.

It is in no way an exaggeration to say that the fundamental principle underlying Hellenic aspirations in Thrace, Asia Minor, and the Dodecanese is not one of imperialism, it is not an unjustifiable desire for conquest in strange lands, but it is a very legitimate determination to redeem from a foreign and oppressive yoke millions of Hellenes in districts where they are in a majority and the ruling race in a distinct minority.

Even the most bigoted supporters of the Turkish cause cannot deny that the littoral provinces of Asia Minor, as well as all the Ægean Islands, are inhabited almost entirely by Greeks, and that the Turkish element preponderates only in the interior.

It is obvious that as long as lands essentially Greek, racially, intellectually, and commercially, remain in foreign hands, it is impossible to avoid friction which must

ultimately result in new wars. Moreover it is a very definite fact that one hope has ever been latent in every Greek's heart, to the realization of which the general policy of the nation as a whole must always of necessity tend—despite many attempts to thwart it from the quarters whence Greece expects most sympathy—and that is the hope that at some future day all Hellenes will be united, and that the Greek Kingdom will extend from the Ionian to the Black Sea, and include within its limits Thrace, the coast-lands of Asia Minor, and Constantinople. This is not merely an arrogant intellectual fancy: it is not, as has so often been wrongly asserted, a dream which has its only source in historical tradition: it is not a wild ideal with the object of resuscitating the Byzantine Empire; but it is the voice of a people determined to be free, more than half of whom are still in a state of the most abject subjection to a foreign race, savage in its customs and ruthless in its treatment of alien subjects.

It would not be reasonable to suppose that these national aspirations are immediately realizable. This would not even be desirable, chiefly because the difficulties of administration following upon a sudden expansion over too large an area would be extremely great. If our rights to expansion are recognized, we are content to achieve that expansion gradually. In the assignment of Smyrna to Greece we have a proof of the goodwill of the Great Powers, and the first step in the right direction has been made. But the mere possession of the town of Smyrna will be of very little value to any country, least of all to Greece, unless it is accompanied by a sufficient portion of the hinterland to support it economically and to maintain its trade on its pre-war level, and also to safeguard it against the aggression of an ever-vigilant foe beyond the border. Economically Smyrna depends for the most part on its export trade of agricultural produce; all its wealth emanates from the extremely fertile vilayets of Aidin and Brussa. If the greater part of these provinces is left to Turkey, it is obvious that it will eventually be found

more expedient to transport their produce by the Bagdad Railway to Constantinople, or some Turkish port on the Black Sea or in Southern Asia Minor, rather than send it through Smyrna, which will then be a foreign port. The result will be that Smyrna will be reduced to a state of economic starvation.

It is precisely this economic starvation that several big European exporting companies in Smyrna fear, and this would afford ample scope for the agitation in certain semi-official circles on behalf of the retention of Smyrna by Turkey. The simplest as well as the justest solution of the problem is to give to Greece, together with Smyrna, the vilayet of Aidin and rather more than half of the vilayet of Brussa, to which she has an ethnological as well as a commercial right. But this solution might again be opposed by the European merchants, who know that they will not, under Greek rule, reap those vast benefits which a lax Turkish administration afforded them, since Turkish officials were always ready to be persuaded to accord privileges to influential foreigners, which their devotion to duty and their reverence for the laws of the land would never permit them to grant to the Greek merchants of Smyrna who were their subjects. In these circumstances it is only natural that the European Levantine should assume in anticipation that Greek administration will be essentially bad, and that his friends in Western Europe should bestir themselves on behalf of the honest Turk.

There is another most important reason why a considerable hinterland should be given to Greece with Smyrna. It will be quite impossible for Greece to defend a small, isolated piece of territory which has no actual boundaries or defences unless she decides to maintain a strong army of occupation permanently in Smyrna: this is far too great a burden for a country as small as Greece to take upon its shoulders. It is precisely the necessity always to have a standing army of defence, in order to guard against an unexpected attack from the foes that surround her on every

side, that has crippled Greece financially in the past. But the acquisition of the vilayets of Aïdin and Brussa would enable her to mobilize an army of 200,000 fighting men of Greek birth at any moment, and would effectually prevent any hostile attack.

To those Englishmen who know Greece well, and have been able properly to appreciate the superiority of Hellenic culture and civilization over that of any other nation of the Near East, it must be patent that it is in the interests of the general welfare of South-Eastern Europe that that State should be supported in taking the lead which is most qualified by its merits and development to promote peace and commerce in that troublesome part of the world.

Italian aspirations in the Near East have only their unprecedented effrontery to recommend them. The spirit of imperialistic aggression which led Italy to occupy Tripoli in 1911 is now urging her to put forward claims upon vast territories in Asia Minor not excluding Smyrna itself which claims cannot possibly be justified either on grounds of humanity or of racial affinity.

If the unhappy inhabitants of Asia Minor are to be freed from the oppression of the Turk in order to become subjects of a nation which, during the past seven and a half years, has given conclusive proofs of the liberality of its culture and civilization by its treatment of the Dodecanesians, their present ill fate is a thousand times to be preferred to freedom under the Italian flag. The well attested and undeniable acts of barbarity and truculence committed by the Italian authorities in the twelve Greek islands of the South Ægean, which they have arbitrarily taken over, need no comment here, but it would be interesting to know on what principle if not on a mediæval principle of sheer conquest, 103,000 Hellenes, 10,000 Turks, and 4,000 Jews are administered by the Italians, unless it be that those eminently manly virtues, and that administrative genius which the Italians have inherited from ancient Rome, entitle them to spread their beneficial ægis over the whole Mediterranean.

## THE BALKAN PENINSULA

BY P. E. DRAKOULES, LL.D.

I AM asked to express an opinion as to the possibility of a Balkan Confederation and on the affairs of Greece

A Balkan Confederation is inconceivable so long as the hatreds cultivated by the politicians exist, so long as the Turkish question remains unsolved, so long as Italy nurtures Imperialistic designs

A reorganization of the Balkan States on the basis of Labour ideals would make the project of Confederation enter the domain of practical politics, but it is useless to expect that the Turkish people should be denied the right of forming a democratic State although I do not think this advisable on European soil. The progress of Socialism in Italy will be conducive to the realization of the Balkan Confederation because all the Italian Socialists are disposed favourably towards the Hellenic aspirations which they acknowledge to be just, and they know that Greece is never Imperialistic. Hellenic ideals coincide to a great extent with Labour ideals. This is a point I have had opportunity to point out in my recent tour in the United States, and I found there the minds well prepared to realize this truth, by the lectures of Professor Gilbert Murray, who some years ago emphasized the fact that the development of contemporary Labour ideals was largely due to Greek studies in England and elsewhere.

It is this impression that makes me have confidence in the future of the Near East, inasmuch as it can be built on Hellenic culture. It is gratifying therefore to feel that this view is furthered by Italian Socialists. From a national point of view there could be nothing better for Greece

than the prevalence of Socialist opinion in Italy. Greece can turn to the reconstruction of which she is in need as soon as she feels she has nothing to fear from Turkey or Italy.

As to Bulgaria, the trend of events is modifying her attitude. It will be a long time before her politicians are again enabled to provoke quarrels in connection with Salonica and the *Ægean*. Meanwhile in Bulgaria, as in Italy, the growth of Socialism is favourable to Greece and consequently to the birth of a Balkan Confederation.

The scheme entertained assiduously before the war by Prussianizing Socialists was to bring about a Balkan Confederation under Ferdinand of Bulgaria, which of course was a German Empire scheme. 'Nous avons changé tout cela' now, and I can aver that there is no real hatred between the Bulgarian masses and the Greek masses. All that hatred was engendered by foreign intrigue and plutocratic schemes. Foreign interference in the Balkan States has been always detrimental to their development\* and if they are disposed to come to an Entente between themselves, each must religiously try to keep aloof from interested foreign wire-pullers.

In proportion as Labour problems are solved in favour of the productive classes, differences will cease between any group of Balkan peoples, such as between Serbia and Roumania or Serbia and Montenegro, or Jugoslavia and Italy. It is all a question of more light, for as long as the masses are kept unenlightened the elements prone to quarrel will make unity impossible. And the same may be said with regard to the Greco-Albanian relations. Both Greeks and Albanians are beginning to understand that they have common interests even as they have a common origin.

The reputation of Socialism has lately much suffered in all countries, partly because it was identified with the hypnotic influence exercised everywhere on Socialists by

\* See my article in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* of February, 1915, on the *Balkan Question*.



German exertions, and partly because of the Bolshevik misapplication of the ideal. But this must not prejudice us against the eternal verities which constitute the basis of Socialism. I am not afraid of handfuls of pseudo-Socialists here and there, and firmly believe that Socialism, well understood, has a future in the Balkans as elsewhere. There are rudimentary Socialist parties in the Balkan States, and the Greek Socialist party can only thrive in solidarity with the Socialist parties in the rest of the Peninsula, all aiming at a Balkan Co operative Commonwealth. The general tendency is anti-monarchic and anti dictatorial. As far as the Greek Socialist party is concerned, it certainly has a future. It seems to me destined to save the nation from the peril of a misapplied Soviet experiment and on the other hand from the monarchical menace, whether this comes from Restorationists or from plutocratic politicians. Its present rôle is to watch developments and check arbitrary tendencies, so as to cause a mitigation of the ills prevalent at present in Greece, such as Martial Law, Censorship, terrorism, profiteering, poverty and discontent at what is considered a desertion of Greece by the Allies after all the great sacrifices she made in the endeavour to win the war. The Greek Socialists are the only force in Greece which desires changes independently of party politics. They are inspired by the desire to diminish the present intolerable conditions of the people and to avert serious dangers. These dangers are real and lie in the path of Mr Venizelos's policy, which therefore should be modified accordingly so as to meet new conditions and new requirements. But whatever are the issues of the near future Greece must cultivate friendships everywhere without surrendering a tithe of her sense of self-existence, and I take it for granted that it is the interest of her neighbours and of her well-wishers beyond the Peninsula to promote the efforts of the Greek people to be independent and contented.

## FAR EASTERN STUDIES

BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS

It is interesting to realize that since the beginning of the Christian era up to the present day Asia has been quite as profoundly modified as Europe in the corresponding period. Indeed there is no current phrase which contains a greater fallacy than the term "Unchanging East." The history of the East abounds in changes of every kind: religion, government, fashions, and so forth, perhaps more than the history of Europe, say, since the Middle Ages.

Moreover, the term "Asia," when we come to use it in a general sense, is far too general a name. Asia, of which we still know so little compared with what we know of Europe, comprises such utterly different countries and races that it is absurd for us to speak of Orientals as if they were one huge race with common characteristics. This impression was gained by the West in the days when our knowledge was confined to hearsay and books.

In the early days, before men travelled extensively, the whole East seemed indistinguishable in the same way that when we first see them we are apt to think all Chinamen alike.

My principal theme is as follows. Our conception of history as a whole has been wanting in true perspective, owing to the dominating foreground of familiar episodes to the exclusion of those which are less familiar. That is to say, certain periods of history and the scenes in which they were enacted have been so extensively studied, and form such an inevitable part of our educational curricula, that we most of us grow up under the impression that the whole history of mankind is contained in that of the Greeks, the Romans, the Jews, and of modern Europe.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century there was indeed some excuse for this narrow outlook, for until then little or nothing was known of the past or present inhabitants of the greater part of Asia, but no such excuse exists to-day. During the last 150 years scholars of a dozen different nations have devoted themselves to the study of the history, languages, geography, and ethnology of Asia, and have produced an enormous mass of literature dealing with every aspect of these problems. Nevertheless, one excuse for our ignorance still exists to-day, and that excuse is the fact that this vast assemblage of data has never been co-ordinated or made accessible to the general student of history. The time has certainly arrived for some organized attempt to remedy this state of affairs. Even

Remusat, writing in 1826, made a similar complaint. How much more is one justified in doing so to day, in view of the wonderful discoveries made in every corner of Asia in the last hundred years !

Before I pass to the consideration of a practical remedy, I would like to indicate more precisely the nature of those obstacles which have to be surmounted, and in doing so I shall make myself clearer if I confine my remarks to the Middle East, although I have in my mind the whole of the East, from Suez to Japan, for the history of all the peoples of Asia is closely interwoven, and their intercourse with one another is revealed more clearly as our studies advance. There are, of course, huge gaps in our knowledge of the earlier civilizations, due, on the one hand, to the destruction by Nature or by man of monuments or literature and, on the other hand, to the fact that some of the nations never possessed either. The Iranians and the Turanians certainly had chronicles of their own in pre Muhammadan times, but they have only been preserved at second hand. The great Persian Epic of Kings of Firdausi was based on written traditions, of which few survive, and the great historian of the Mongols, Rashid Ud Din, tells us that he consulted many old Turkish chronicles, none of which have come down to us. The Indians, on the other hand, were averse from writing history, their men of letters considering philosophy and grammar more profitable studies. It is not till we come to the Muhammadan period that we find the chronicles of India set down in writing. What precedes has to be pieced together from the inscriptions and the coins, and it is Greek and Chinese writers who made this task possible<sup>1</sup>. But on the whole India has fared better at the hands of the modern historian than any other country in the East. This is due partly to the noble array of scholars who have lived in British India, and partly to the spread of English education among the Indians, which has created a demand for systematized Indian history.

China has excelled all other nations in the making of chronicles, but there remains still much to be done in the field of their translation and interpretation. It is to be hoped that some day a complete critical translation of the twenty four dynastic histories may be undertaken by a group of scholars.

It is essential that a certain number of scholars in the field of Oriental linguistics should spread their net a little wider than is usually the case with specialists, and thus attempt to piece together various materials and data which have been collected by specialists, but which go to make up one complete story. In recent times a number of eminent scholars have rendered great services to science by extending the field of their researches outside the conventional limits of their main subject. For example, Professor Sylvain Levi, the eminent Sanskritist, has done important work by the additional help of Chinese. Professor Pelliot, who is one of the greatest living Chinese scholars, has, with his marvellous linguistic gifts, thrown his net very wide, and has thereby been able to deal with many varied aspects of Central Asian archæology. He has lately, for example, been engaged on editing and translating the secret history of the Mongol dynasty, a work which has a most romantic history, and is of the utmost

historical importance. Another scholar who has furnished us with a remarkable series of papers on a great variety of subjects connected with the philology and ethnography and culture of China and Central Asia is Dr. Laufer of Chicago, who has acquired an intimate acquaintance with such different and difficult languages as Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan. Much important material would have been lost to us had these scholars whom I have just mentioned confined their studies to one group.

It is to be hoped that their example may now be followed by some of the rising generation of Orientalists.

The young student at the outset of his career naturally makes some particular language or group of languages his speciality, and is possessed of the laudable ambition of becoming an authority in his special subject, but nowadays, when so much ground has been broken in almost every field of Asiatic research, we need the services of scholars who, at a comparatively early age, would be willing to forgo the glories of specialization, and after laying a sound foundation in one particular branch, would be prepared to devote themselves to the collation of a vast mass of materials which are now available, and help us to focus and bring into their proper perspective the whole panorama of Asiatic history. But apart from linguistics, we as Orientalists need the collaboration of workers in all the other fields of Asiatic research.

The term "Orientalist" itself is used in far too narrow a sense—indeed by the general public it is often totally misunderstood. I heard only recently that someone remarked to one of our teachers, apropos of Oriental studies: "You don't really believe in these things, do you?" from which my friend inferred that the speaker thought the School of Oriental Studies was a temple of Blavatskyism. This is by the way.

Orientalism should include many branches of science and research which we are not apt to associate with the name. We need, in order to understand the history, religion, and habits of Asiatic peoples and their migrations, the aid of naturalists, anthropologists, geographers, and so forth. In such fields of research as Egyptology and Assyriology, where from the first the traveller and excavator have been to the forefront, and the written word was only deciphered at a later stage, the foundation of studies has been on a broader basis than in the case of peoples and countries who have first become known to us through the medium of their literatures. Professor Breasted has pointed out in a recent paper the great advantages under which the students of early American history have worked owing to the very absence of documents and inscriptions.

What is needed, then, is the co-ordination of the available material dealing with every aspect of Asiatic research.

So much for the personal element. I will now pass to what may be regarded as one of the greatest difficulties with which the student of Asiatic history and culture is confronted—namely, the difficulty, not only of ascertaining what has been written of any value on a particular subject in the past, but also of keeping himself abreast of what has appeared from day to day.

Personally I may confess that I began my Central Asian studies—with-

out guidance, it is true—at the wrong end I merely took what I could find, and there was no book to tell me what had been done. I was first attracted to these studies by the manuscripts discovered by Stein, and especially by those in the old Turkish language. Shortly after the first results of Central Asian exploration were made known to the world, a number of scholarly papers appeared dealing with the various subjects, but without wishing to imply that the new writers denied any credit due to their predecessors in the field, I certainly received the impression that they were discovering more than they had learnt. I will explain what I mean later.

If we take the subject of Central Asia with its history as known from the Chinese chronicles, and its languages and culture which have lately been revealed to us, it will afford a good example of the chaos of materials in which the student will find himself engulfed. Before the invention of Orientalists' journals—and the earliest of these was, I believe, that published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal—it may have been comparatively easy to keep pace with most of the literature bearing on China and her Western neighbours, which appeared in French, English, and German. With the Russian works, of which there were many and important ones, it was another story, for the knowledge of the Russian language was very rare outside Russia until comparatively recent times, and thus it happened that important translations from the Chinese and other works of a similar nature were for the most part ignored and, in some cases, lost sight of altogether. But since the invention of journals and the foundation of so many Oriental societies, it has been almost impossible for a single man to keep pace with all that appeared, even on a most specialized subject. How much the more in such a vast subject as the Western neighbours of China! And it is in view of such considerations that I wish to advocate the institution of some systematic guide to all the various branches of Asiatic research. Such a guide could not well be undertaken by any single individual, but would require the co-operation of a number of scholars and a central organization. It would, I fancy, be easier to deal with the whole of Asia rather than with sections, and certainly far more useful. What is required is a work in the nature of a subject index to a library, with this difference—that individual pamphlets would play an equally important part with books. Every journal purporting to deal with the East should be indexed not merely the journals of Oriental societies, but the journals, memoirs, and publications of every society which contain articles on Asiatic topics. Anthropological journals of all countries are full of materials of the deepest interest to Orientalists, but are often apt to be overlooked by them.

If such a scheme as I suggest could be realized, it would be the further duty of the central organization to keep scholars who desire it informed of the work which was being undertaken by their colleagues. There can hardly be a scholar who has not experienced the misfortune of finding that he had devoted a great deal of time to a subject which either had already been treated or on which someone else was also working. This has happened to myself more than once, and although Orientalists have a pro-

verbal name for quarrelling, I cannot help thinking that if there were to be some such means as I suggest for keeping in touch with the labours of other scholars, they would be willing to sink all rivalry, and very often one or other of the scholars would hand over his material.

I may be permitted to mention incidentally that only recently when Professor Pelliot was visiting this country, I handed over to him all the material I had collected in the shape of old Uighur Chinese vocabularies, knowing that he would be able to deal with them far more efficiently than I could, and I did so without any feeling that I had wasted my time in collecting such material, or that I was performing an act of self-denial.

Since writing these remarks—which give expression to feelings that I have long entertained—I have heard that the Royal Society and the British Academy are about to publish a new monthly journal under the title of *Discovery*, the aim of which will be to present in a popular form the progress of knowledge in all its chief branches. The communiqué issued to the Press says

“The control of the trustees will be final, but they will exercise it through a managing committee, which they will appoint on the nomination of a large number of bodies, the chief of whom are the conjoint board of Scientific Societies, who will nominate five members, the Classical, Historical, English, and Geographical Associations, each of whom will nominate one member, and the Modern Language Association, if, as is hoped, that body also adheres to the scheme.

“The British Psychological Society and the Royal Society of Economics will also appoint one member.

“All these specialist associations undertake to supply, year by year, for the editor's use, a list of contributors capable of representing different sides of their particular branch of knowledge by articles or series of articles, of a thoroughly popular kind, which will, however, always contain references to the books or periodicals in which the subject of the article can be pursued more fully.”

This is certainly a most laudable enterprise—but it does not seem to meet the need to which I have referred. In the first place it is avowedly popular, and in the second place it does not seem to embrace the East. This is, I presume, due to the notion that “discoveries” do not come from the East, though it scarcely needs to be demonstrated that we owe to the East among other matters of importance our religion and our alphabets, not to mention the credit claimed for China of having discovered gun powder and the taxi-cab.

But the announcement of this new journal has suggested to me the establishment of a journal on somewhat similar lines dealing with Asiatic research. For it now occurs to me that the best solution of the problem before us might be the publication of, say, a quarterly journal containing, in addition to a list of all books and articles which have recently been published on Asiatic subjects with a brief résumé of their contents, notes on recent explorations, lectures, and controversies. Such a journal might perhaps be also undertaken by the British Academy—which counts among its members a certain number of Oriental scholars. I would suggest as a title “*Asiatic Researches*”—thus reviving an old name.

I see no reason why such a journal should not at the same time publish

with each number complete bibliographies of one or more of the main subdivisions of Oriental studies, such as Buddhism in China, Christianity in Central Asia, and so forth. The subdivisions having been decided upon, a certain number might appear with each issue of the journal, so that ultimately the journal would contain a complete guide to sources of information of all Asiatic topics.

[Perhaps the ASIATIC REVIEW could undertake such a work either as a separate publication or as a supplement to the existing issue. It is already publishing proceedings and résumés of Asiatic Societies and, in its Literary Supplement, bringing under notice as many as possible of the important books on Asia. An extension on the lines indicated above should therefore prove most valuable.—ED. A. R.]

## GREEK NOTES

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

## I THE FUTURE OF GREECE \*

IN a conversation between M Venizelos and Dr Drakoulis in Paris on the eve of the Prime Minister's departure and the signature of the Bulgarian Treaty, the national problem and the internal affairs of Greece formed the main subjects of discussion.

M Venizelos believes that Smyrna will remain Greek and that the Dodekanessos will soon form part of the Hellenic State. Even for Thrace he has every reason to hope that the whole of it is destined to be added to Greece. That Bulgaria has been driven away from the *Ægean* is, he says, an achievement for which any sacrifice could be justified.

M Venizelos looks forward to the signature of the Turkish Treaty for a definite solution of the Greek national problem.

Dr Drakoulis expressed the Labour feeling of Greece as to the delays which render the internal situation precarious, inasmuch as it necessitates the continuance of martial law, censorship, and a kind of mild terrorism. With profiteering rampant, the high cost of living, and widely spread privation, Greece is now about the most harassed country in Europe.

The conclusion of Dr Drakoulis is that fundamental political changes are needed, and he suggested the creation of a separate authority to deal with questions affecting the working classes, independent of Parliament.

M Venizelos recognizes the importance of the Labour problem, but thinks that much has been done by his administration towards its solution, and that anyhow it must remain dormant until after the signature of the Turkish Treaty.

Dr Drakoulis, while agreeing that waiting is expedient, warned the Premier that a great storm of discontent is brewing in Greece, which may break out before the Constituent Assembly, contemplated by M Venizelos, has time to be elected.

## II GREECE AN EPILOGUE OF THE WORLD

Reading the reports of the above conversation produced a strange impression upon me. Greece became the world, her ex King Constantine representing the dead or dying *Past*, her Premier Venizelos the sane and reasoned *Present*, while the intransigent lover of humanity incarnating the unborn *Future* cries aloud:

"Fiat justitia, ruat cælum!"

"Dr Drakoulis," I said, "you say that during the war the times have marched with such gigantic strides, as far as popular ideals are concerned, that men even of the calibre of M Venizelos risk being left behind. Is there not an even greater danger of men of idealistic temperament failing to gauge the depths of savagery and unreason to which the less instructed may sink if trusted with power they are unfitted to wield?"

\* *Le Journal des Hellènes*, November, 1919, *The Review of Reviews*, December, 1919, *Justice*, etc.



"What I emphasized almost exclusively in my conversation with M Venizelos," replied Dr Drakoulis, "was the need for instruction, enlightenment, re education, or should I say de education, in order that those who are entitled to administer the interest of the community may realize their responsibilities and the people their destinies

"In the first place, therefore, I should urge the reorganization of the educational system on new foundations altogether In Greece, as in all other countries, education has always been on the basis of individual profit Thus chronic profiteering as distinguished from contemporary, acute profiteering has always characterized the nations

'The new educational system should aim at making useful citizens, instead of money grubbers But the present mismanagers of civilization do not sanction such a change Therefore I do not see how M Venizelos could revolutionize the educational system to the extent of militating against the economic system, which as Prime Minister he is bound to support'

"Why, then, all this criticism if action be impossible?" I retorted

"Because there will soon be a Constituent Assembly It is to be hoped that it will create institutions tending towards this new spirit of usefulness and social harmony So much does human intuition abhor parasitism, that there is no one now but tries to justify his existence by doing some work answering to his idea of usefulness

"There are two primary objects before a Prime Minister of goodwill enjoying such a unique position

"The first, as I have indicated, is a radical change in the educational system so as to instil love for truth and justice

"The second is the establishment of a new authority competent to deal with the Labour problems which are sure to arise in Greece very soon

"The workers lack cohesion and organization Very much could be done towards securing both by the initiative of the Government in a country like Greece, where agriculture and industry are still in their infancy

"If the next National Assembly created a new Labour Authority, independent even of Parliament, that authority would gradually grow to be the new State—the Co operative Commonwealth

"Events in Greece are impending which may be of a grave nature, and, to my way of thinking, there is no means of averting danger except the declaring of a policy of concession to the just demands for light, labour, and leisure—the three chief planks in the platform of *Erevna*'

"Were you Minister of Labour, how would you secure order now that Labour believes only in the rights of one class, its own, to any consideration, or even to the right of existence?"

"There is only one class, or there ought to be—the class of useful citizens, and they are the only set of human beings that has any right to exist," said Dr Drakoulis

"Would you have little Greece, at this moment, break with her sister-nations by launching on a tempestuous, perilous sea, that might lose her as Russia has been lost?"

'The common problem, yours, mine, everyone's,  
Is not to fancy what were fair in life  
Provided it could be, but finding first  
What may be, then find how to make it fair  
Up to our means'\*

This common sense seems to me the pre eminent characteristic of M Venizelos, and fits him to be a wise pilot through the stormy period of

\* Browning

transition I never meet M. Venizelos without thinking of these lines. It also appears to me that true Socialism must include all grades of human society, that the 'tree of life for the healing of the nations' is a *tree* with root, trunk, branches, flowers, and fruit, all forming a perfect whole, yet no two leaves receiving exactly the same amount of air, water, and sunshine."

"Russia has not been lost," replied Dr. Drakoulis. "A new, sane Russia will emerge from the furnace. As to what she may be I agree with Browning. Hence I am mainly interested in studying tendencies and the force of things."

"Victor Hugo speaks of a mysterious text, '*le texte mystérieux de Dieu*.' I try constantly to read it. The war has been fought for larger issues than the particular phases of a nation's growth."

"Then do you believe that we are impelled by blind forces?" I inquired.

"No, things are thoughts crystallized. The force of things has its springs in the Power behind Evolution. Cromwell was right when he said that revolutions are made by God."

"I quite agree with what you say about the all-embracing nature of Socialism, and that is what I try to impress upon the readers of *Erevna*. But remember that no leaf receives less of air, water, and sunshine than is necessary for its life and growth. So no human or sub-human being must receive less than is essential for its life and growth."

### III INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF GREECE

"We have little news from Greece just now. What is going on there?"

"Although Venizelism is not as popular as it was before the Peace Conference, no healthy opposition to the Government such as I know the Prime Minister himself would wish, can develop under present conditions. No political leaders, able to voice the popular sentiment, well or ill founded, that the origin of the present Venizelist administration is not constitutional, have a real chance for action."

"At the beginning of the war M. Venizelos did not entertain the idea of forming a Coalition Government, in order that anti-Venizelist forces should not remain out of power during such a great national crisis. These forces are now so situated as to be inadequate to form an opposition commensurate with the popular discontent."

"If an anti-Venizelist politician declares the Government is no longer adequate to present circumstances, all that a Venizelist has to retort is, 'But where can its successor be found? If it falls it will be reinstated, stronger than ever, in a few days, because the political situation is a deadlock.'"

"Feeble as it is, the voice of the Socialist party has an echo in the hearts of the working classes. It is argued that their wages have been increased, but the fact is that the cost of living has increased even more because unbridled profiteering has been permitted, for the reason that the Government cannot afford to lose the support of the traders. Freedom of speech does not exist, and all allusions to the prevailing conditions of misery, terrorism, and waste of public money are tabooed. The newspapers are full of blank spaces, and judging by the prohibited articles of my own paper, *Erevna*, the Censor objects to reviews or translations of such innocent matter as Adolph Smith's contributions to *The Times* or of books like Professor Scott's 'Syndicalism and Realism'. The *Erevna* articles on works like these are decorated by many blank spaces in obedience to the Censor."

"Now, Dr. Drakoulis, you were not in England during the early

years of the war. Can you, in Greece, parallel the classic example when our Censor deleted as seditious and dangerous Rudyard Kipling's line

'The captains and the kings depart'?

One must remember also that not only is Greece still at war, but that she has been deprived of the presence of her Prime Minister all through these long months of 'peace making'. Assuredly, as you yourself have said, the magic of his presence will serve to remove the worst evils, perhaps necessary, during his absence, and the unnecessary mercilessness of the martial law and unreasoned rigorousness of the censorship will disappear under a just and wise leadership."

"Your words fit the situation fairly, but as it is the conditions to which the Prime Minister is wedded that I deprecate, and not his own human initiative, I do not need to withdraw what I have said. The words you have used would have fitted the situation still better before the Balkan wars, when we all implicitly trusted the 'just and wise leadership'. But the hurricane came and swept away the landmarks. Similarly now, may all too suddenly come a hurricane, incomparably fiercer, which will scarcely respect even the most benevolent of old régime administrations. The most constructive human agencies are powerless when creative cosmic forces become irresistible."

## THE UNTOUCHABLES OF INDIA AND THEIR ENUMERATION

BY REV. H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON, PH.D., D.D.

[At a conference of representatives of British missionary societies, held on September 28, 1916, the Bishop of Madras called attention to the serious situation created by the illiteracy of the Christian community in India owing to the large accessions through the mass movements.

The Annual Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland has arranged for the sending of a Commission to India to investigate and report as to the extension of elementary education among rural Christians, and such modifications of curriculum and methods as may be desirable to adapt such education to the realities of Indian village life

The Commission started for India in October last. Its members are as follows: Rev Alec Fraser (Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, Ceylon), Mr. C Roberts (formerly Under Secretary of State for India), Miss Allan (Principal of Homerton College, Cambridge), Mr Jesse Jones (Secretary, Rockefeller Institute, America), Professor Fleming (late of Forman College, Lahore, now Professor, Union College, New York), together with two Indian members—viz., the Bishop of Dornakal and Mr. K. T. Paul, secretary of the National Council of Y M C A. Missionaries now working in India will be attached to the Commission during its tours in India, and to assist in the preparation of the Report.]

My only qualification for attempting this intricate and somewhat technical subject is that, in the course of missionary life in India, I have gone in and out among the Untouchables of the Panjāb for a good many years, and have tried to learn what I could from and about them. They are people well worth helping on every side of human nature, and one has found real friends among them. The outstanding impressions made upon the most casual worker among the Indian Untouchables are those of their illiteracy and their poverty. The latter is the

more poignant for a man may be intelligent though illiterate, but moving among these outcastes one feels almost ashamed to be decently clad and sufficiently fed when one's fellow-creatures are so scant in both ways. The task of raising them is as tremendous as it is imperious. The administrator, with no little success, has been labouring at it for generations, the missionary has brought home to many a spiritual impulse resulting in social progress, and the patriot has come to realize that a true national life cannot be built up on a substructure of virtual slavery. No one of these classes is likely to accomplish the task alone. Their efforts need to be co-ordinated on a basis of solid fact, and, however much one may gibe at figures, their accuracy is as needful for the successful prosecution of this as of any other great undertaking.

In the quarters with which I am best acquainted, but in others also, appeals or statements about the Indian Untouchables are enforced with estimates of their number varying from 45 to 60 millions. For these figures, so far as I can find out, no stable basis of calculation is given. Moreover, the tacit assumption seems to be that these millions are pretty much on the same level as to social and spiritual conditions. The fact is that the so-called "outcastes" vary among themselves more than do the caste Hindus. The contrast between a Toda of the Nilgiris and a well-to-do Chamar of North India is much greater than that between the Chamar and his Brahman neighbour. Indeed, in the case of the upper strata of the nominal Untouchables (notably of the great Chamar community), it is at present almost impossible to determine what proportion belong to the uppermost section of the Untouchables and what to the lowest section of the caste people. Probably the dividing line is movable.

The term "Untouchable," as a name for the "depressed classes," or "outcastes," is a revival of the most ancient designation of these people. In early times the *asprishya* (untouchable) *Sudra* stands below the four great *varnas*

(Brahman, Kshatrya, Vaisya, Sudra). The name has recently come into prominence since the appearance of an article by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda in the *National Review* of December, 1909. In this able and touching appeal on behalf of the "depressed classes," His Highness points out that there are depressed classes who are not outcastes. We may add that "outcaste" connotes the idea of expulsion from caste which has rarely, if ever, taken place, whereas "Untouchable" goes to the root of the matter in that it describes the religious and social attitude of the Hindu towards the outcaste, which constitutes the degradation and misery of his position. The term "Untouchable" in this essay means, therefore, that part of the population of India which is not admitted to any recognized social status in the Hindu community, and is accordingly segregated from it without having gained admission to either of the other organized religions of Christianity or Islam.

#### VARIED ELEMENTS AMONG THE UNTOUCHABLES

It is well known that the Untouchables of India are divided into two very different sections, which we may call for convenience' sake the Aboriginal and the Domiciled. The Aborigines, generally speaking, live in more or less separate territories, following their own primitive organizations and cults; but many of them are merging into one or other of the three great religions—Hinduism, Islam, or Christianity. An appreciable number of some of these tribes (as in the case of the Bhils) are domiciled among the general population. This illustrates the difficulty of classification. The Bhils enumerated in the census as "Hindus," of course, no longer come under the heading of "Aborigines." This is confined to the tribes which are mainly or wholly "animist." But are these domiciled Bhils still "untouchable," or are they recognized as belonging to a Hindu caste? Here, again, the line of division is probably shifting.

What I have called the Domiciled Untouchables may be taken to represent, in the main, the body of subjugated aborigines who have been fitted on to the Hindu community as an appendix, embracing occupations which are specially menial and toilsome (*e.g.*, scavenging and field labour) or ceremonially degrading (*e.g.*, leather-working). The variety of religious belief and practice among this section is very great. Generally speaking, they represent the animist cults of their ancestors, in which, as generally in religious development, ritual is more persistent than belief. In some cases, as in the village cults of South India, depicted by the Bishop of Madras,\* this heritage actually gives them precedence in certain acts of worship, where they seem to represent the pre-Hindu priesthood. In other parts—*e.g.*, among the Chuhra of the Panjab—the old beliefs and practices are much overlaid by the religion of the masters whom they happen to serve. The Chuhra adopt names and religious terms—Hindu, Sikh, or Musalman, as the case may be. Some use the Hindu greeting *Rām-Rām*; some let hair and beard grow, like the Sikhs; some have their children married by a *mulla*. But everywhere is the mud mound or pillar that represents the ancient tribal deity, though some refer it to a Hindu sage, Balmik, others to a Mohammedan teacher, Lal Beg. In the Western Panjab considerable numbers have professed Islam, but are called Musalli (little Moslems), and work and are treated as scavengers. In the Central Panjab a certain number (the Mazhabis) have been admitted to the Sikh religion, but remain on a lower social status, without intermarriage. The large number who have become Christians are in process of dropping the caste distinction altogether as they rise to a higher level of education and morals. These examples may serve to illustrate the shifting conditions of status among the Untouchables, accelerated, as they have been, by the movement towards Christianity.

\* *The Village Gods of South India* (Milford)

# SOURCES OF ESTIMATE

It must be frankly premised that a study such as this has to allow for a large margin of error. I suppose that there is no one who is acquainted in any detail with all the castes in India. Certainly the information that I have been able to secure is scattered and incomplete. The summaries that I have found are (1) by Risley (*Peoples of India*, first edition, 1908), (2) Baines (*Ethnography of India*, 1912) and (3) Gait (*Census of India*, 1911, vol 1)

Sir Herbert Risley classifies by regions (Bengal, Orissa, etc.) He divides the Untouchables into Hindus (50 630 576) and animists (17,248,151). These totals are my additions of the separate figures which he gives. Perhaps they form the basis of the 60 million estimates which we sometimes hear of, but in any case, the figures are based on the 1901 Census. In the second edition of *Peoples of India* (1915), the author, I believe rightly, omits the table altogether, though in the meanwhile the census figures of 1911 had become available. The alteration of provincial boundaries, besides the large increase in population in the decade 1901-11, had evidently upset the calculations.

Sir Athelstan Baines bases on the 1901 census, and excludes Burma, taking the total population of India as 283 millions. The Domiciled Untouchables are classified by castes and occupations. His totals are

Field labourers	16,158,400
Leather workers	15,028,300
Scavengers	3 647 700
	<hr/> 34,834,400

But the classification in some cases is very doubtful—e.g., Namasudras (or Chandals) and Kolis are included under peasants, though a large part of them are Untouchables. The Aborigines are given regionally

Central Belt (Kol, Santal, Munda, Oraon, Gond, etc.)	9,229,900
Western Belt (Bhils)	1,922,300
South Indian hill tribes	593,900
Assam and Himalayas	1,765,700
	<hr/> 13,511,800



Here we have a total of 48,346,200, perhaps the origin of the 50 million estimate, which is the one most frequently given. But as pointed out above, these figures also are based upon the 1901 census, and they exclude Burma (which Sir Herbert Risley includes) with its large aboriginal population. Nor is it easy to determine how far the castes and tribes enumerated by Sir A. Baines are all untouchable, or include all the Untouchables.

The plan that I have followed in this essay is to take the list of castes and tribes given in the Report by Sir H. Gait of the 1911 *Census of India*, vol. i., part ii., pp. 178 ff., as a basis. From this I have extracted the Untouchables under the two groups mentioned, Aboriginal and Domiciled, to the best of my knowledge and information. There are sure to be mistakes in detail, but I do not think that any important bodies have been omitted. It is more likely that some have been included who are not really untouchable. The two lists are given alphabetically, with particulars as to occupation, and an attempt is made to summarize the most important groups. One has had to use private judgment in drawing the line between Untouchables and others. For instance, I have not included *Dhobis* (washermen) and *Kumhars* (potters), though, strictly speaking, their employments are reckoned among the unclean, because usually they seem to be recognized as castes. On the other hand, I have included *Chamars* (leather-workers), because I believe the majority of them are socially excluded. These instances and much else will make it clear to the reader that this claims to be nothing more than a preliminary study, which may serve as a starting-point for really accurate and detailed investigation, both before and after the census which is due in 1921. This is a field in which the Survey Committee of the Indian National Missionary Council might do useful work. A sketch map of India showing the results would be invaluable.

In dealing with these figures, taken from the 1911

census, it is to be noted that the total population of the Indian Empire was then reckoned at 315,132,537. Of this number 12,115,217 lived in Burma, which is a Buddhist country, and therefore has no, properly speaking, untouchable classes, as it has no caste system. Hence, in making comparisons regarding Domiciled Untouchables, the population of India must be reckoned at 303,017,320. But in the case of aboriginal tribes, Burma has to be included. The Aborigines (as shown here) amount to a little over 6 per cent. of the entire population of the Indian Empire. The Domiciled are a little less than 10 per cent. of the population of India without Burma.

For the benefit of the non-technical reader, I give a list of the provinces, with populations. It has to be remembered that "Central Provinces" denotes the area under direct British rule in that part of India, while "Central India" is a group of feudatory states and their dependencies. The "United Provinces" of Agra and Oudh were formerly known as the "North-West Provinces."

Provinces	Area in sq miles 1911	Population 1911.
Ajmer Merwara . .	2,711	501,395
Andamans and Nicobars	3,143	26,459
Assam .	53,015	6,713,635
Baluchistan	54,228	414,412
Bengal .	78,699	45,483,077
Bihar and Orissa .	83,181	34,490,084
Bombay ( <i>Presidency</i> )	123,059	19,672,642
Burma .	230,839	12,115,217
Central Provinces and Berar . .	99,823	13,916,308
Coorg . .	1,582	174,976
Delhi	557	391,828
Madras . .	142,330	41,405,404
North West Frontier Province	13,418	2,196,933
Panjab . . . .	99,222	19,974,956
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh . . . . .	107,267	47,182,044
Total, Provinces .	1,093,074	244,659,370

States or Agencies	Area in sq. miles. 1911	Population 1911
Assam State (Manipur)	8,456	346,222
Baluchistan ( <i>Agency Tracts</i> )	80,410	420,291
Baroda State	8,182	2,032,798
Bengal States	5,393	822,565
Bihar and Orissa States	28,648	3,945,209
Bombay States	63,864	7,411,675
Central India Agency	77,367	9,356,980
Central Provinces States	31,174	2,117,002
Haidarabad State	82,698	13,374,676
Kashmir State	84,432	3,158,126
Madras States	10,549	4,811,841
Mysore State	29,475	5,806,193
North West Frontier Province ( <i>Agencies and Tribal Areas</i> )	25,500	1,622,094
Panjab States	36,551	4,212,794
Rajputana Agency	128,987	10,530,432
Sikkim	2,818	87,920
United Provinces States	5,079	832,036
Total, States and Agencies	<u>709,583</u>	<u>70,888,854</u>
Total, India	1,802,657	315,548,224

## CHIEF GROUPS OF THE ABORIGINALS

Taking the chief aboriginal tribes we may group them in (1) Western, (2) Central, (3) Southern, (4) Eastern

Under (1) we have the Bhils and Bhilalas, 1,096,376  
In addition to these the census gives us 675,329 as Domiciled  
How far (if at all) these latter are untouchable is not clear

The main group is (2) the Central It comprises

Gonds	2,917,150
Santals	2,138,310
Ho	420,571
Kamar	314,105
Kol	344,790
Munda	574,434
Oraon	751,983
Mina	639,908
Panika	796,973
	<u>8,898,224</u>

In (3) the South we have

Khond	673,346
Kurumban	947,619
	<u>1,620,965</u>

In (4) the chief Eastern tribes are in Assam and Burma

Assam	Kachari	.	231,912	
	Mech		115,056	
	Mikir	..	105,077	
	Naga		220,034	
			<hr/>	672,079
Burma	Karen		1,102,695	
	Shan		996,946	
			<hr/>	2,099,641
				<hr/>
				2,771,720

Out of a total of nearly 20 million aborigines the main groups mentioned above count for over 13 millions. The rest, as may be seen from the table, are divided into many small sections.

#### DIFFICULTIES OF GROUPING

To group these and even the larger sections of the Aborigines correctly as to their untouchableness is a complicated task. For instance the Bhilalas above referred to should probably be counted out, for they are said to be regarded as a mixed race of Bhil and Rajput origin, but even here it would be necessary to find out with care how far this status is accorded to all Bhilālas. Of the Bhils we read in the *Gazetteer of India*, vol. viii, p. 101, "It is not easy to describe a tribe that includes every stage of civilization, from the wild hunter of the hills to the orderly and hard-working peasant of the lowlands. A further difficulty arises from the fact that the name Bhil is often given to half-wild tribes who do not seem to be true Bhils."

Yet another difficulty lies in the variety of occupations which may be comprised under one caste or outcaste. The Namasudras are often lumped as untouchable. But Sir H. Risley writes (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. 1, p. 188) that they "work at anything as boatmen, peasants, tradesmen, and artisans," besides their menial occupations. This makes the information regarding occupation only approximate to facts. Broadly speaking,

by "peasant" is meant the small owner who cultivates his own or common land, by "cultivator" the labourer who may be a tenant but is more generally a regular dependent, by "shifting cultivator" the jungle dweller who moves his tillage from place to place as the land becomes exhausted, by "cooly" the regular hired labourer for cultivation or industry of any kind. But the earth-worker cooly may also be a scavenger or a field labourer.

In the case of Aborigines the information given in the reports regarding occupation is remarkably scarce. One would have expected the economic condition of these backward peoples to be of foremost interest to their able and benevolent administrators, but, as a matter of fact, a few jejune notes on livelihood and employment are often smothered by masses of detail regarding marriage and funeral customs and animistic observances.

Certain tribes of a somewhat higher standing have been included in this list, because they are designated in the census tables as animist—e.g., the Mogēr and Mukkuvan of South India. The cult of the Wangars of Nepal is designated by Risley as "a lax Hinduism, tempered by survivals of an earlier cult." This and other tribes stand on the dividing line between Animism and Hinduism.

Only a minority of the animist tribes are reached by Christian missionary effort. Among the larger ones, definite impression has been made upon the Santals, the Kols, the Mundas and Oraons, and the Karens, and to some extent upon the Bhils and Gonds. Among some smaller tribes, such as the Kharias of Assam and the Todas of the Nilgiris, effective work has been done. It would seem that the infiltration of Hinduism is more in evidence among these peoples than the propaganda of Islam, though this last is not absent.

#### CHIEF GROUPS OF THE DOMICILED UNTOUCHABLES

Among the 30 million of these people the largest groups are

Throughout North India		Chamar	11,305,713
Panjab	Chuhra	846,589	
	Megh	174,218	
			1,020,807
United Provinces		Bhangi	667,031
		Bhar	454,427
			1,121,458
Bengal	Hari	454,174	
	Dhanak	842,409	
	Mochi	561,777	
	Namasudra	2,087,162	
			3,945,522
Bombay	Bhil	626,158	
	Bhilala	49,201	
	Dhed	118,518	
	Mahar	3,342,680	
	Mang	700,069	
			4,836,626
Madras	Madiga	1,931,017	
	Mala	2,135,329	
	Paraiyan	2,448,295	
			6,514,641
			28,744,767

Less than 3 millions remain divided among the minor unclean castes. The "mass movement" towards Christianity has been most in evidence among the three South Indian groups and among the Chuhra of the Panjab. Next to them would come the Bhangis of the United Provinces, the Mahars of Bombay, and the Namasudras (erstwhile Chandals) of Bengal. A large number of converts have been made from the Chamars, but they form a small fraction of the whole great community. A very large proportion of the Domiciled Untouchables remain as virgin soil for missionary and philanthropic effort.

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**ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF INDIA AND BURMA BEFORE DOMICILED**  
(DESIGNATED IN CENSUS RETURNS AS "ANIMISTS")

Name	Locality	Occupation	Number
Bhul	Bombay, Baroda, Central Provinces	Hunters and cultivators	1,006,764*
Bhulala	Central India	Hunters and cultivators	89,012*
Bhurya	Bihar and Orissa	Cultivators and hunters	854,449
Chan	Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, United Provinces	Labourers fishermen, cultivators	155,926
Chodhra	Bombay, Baroda	Nomads	69,504
Dubla	Bombay, Baroda	Nomads and labourers	168,846
Gadala	Madras	Cultivators coolies hunters	45,773
Ganta	Baroda	Nomads	59,508
Ganda	Bihar and Orissa Central Provinces Berar	Watchmen weavers	304,826
Garo	Assam	Shifting cultivators	187,351
Ghasi	Central Provinces	Grass cutters, groomers, musicians	134,076
Gond	Central Provinces and Central India	Shifting cultivators hunters	2,917,150
Gour	United Provinces	Shifting cultivators hunters	183,404
Ho	Bengal (Chota Nagpur)	Hunters and cultivators	420,571
Irula	Madras	Hunters coolies	100,659
Jatapu	Madras	Cultivators, coolies	93,273
Juang	Bihar and Orissa	Cultivators	13,845
Kachari	Assam	Shifting cultivators	231,912
Khond or Kandh	Bihar and Orissa, Madras	Hunters and cultivators	673,346
Karen	Burma	Shifting cultivators	1,102,695
Katkari	Bombay	Cultivators labourers	91,841
Kawar	Central Provinces	Cultivators and labourers	233,423
Khariya	Bihar and Orissa	Shifting cultivators	148,358
Khatar	Bihar and Orissa	Peasants and labourers	147,231
Khasi	Assam	Cultivators	120,933
Kotia	Bombay	Nomads	79,129
Kol	Central India, Central Provinces	Cultivators and migratory labourers	344,790
Kolam	Central Provinces	Cultivators	24,976
Kora	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Earth workers and cultivators	90,319
Korku	Central Provinces, Central India	Hunters, cultivators	177,734
Korwa	Bengal, Orissa	Shifting cultivators	52,799
Kothya	Madras	Cultivators and artisans	19,801
Koyi	Madras	Shifting cultivators, labourers	203,763
Kuki	Assam	Cultivators (?)	88,370

Kurawan	Madras, Mysore, Travancore	Labourers	224,211
Kurumban	Madras, Mysore, Haidarabad	Wandering shepherds	947,619
Lalung	Assam	Shifting cultivators	39,219
Lushai	Assam	Shifting cultivators	80,484
Mahli	Bihar and Orissa	Hunters of small game	88,704
Malayan	Madras	Exorcists, beggars	14,675
Mal Paharia	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Hunters and shifting cultivators	54,069
Mangar	Bengal	Cultivators, traders	32,790
Megh	Assam	Shifting cultivators	115,056
Mikir	Assam	Shifting cultivators	105,077
Mina	Central India, Rajputana	Peasants, watchmen, marauders	639,908
Miri	Assam	Shifting cultivators	57,792
Moger	Madras	Fishermen	43,097
Mukkuvan	Madras	Fishermen	21,300
Munda	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Landholders and peasants	574,434
Murung	Bengal	Cultivators and soldiers	12,393
Naga	Assam	Cultivators and traders	220,034
Nagesia	Central Provinces	Cultivators	52,712
Naik	Bombay, Baroda, Rajputana	Shifting cultivators (?)	125,554
Nihai	Central Provinces	Cultivators (?)	12,403
Oraon	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces	Cultivators and labourers	751,983
Panka or Pan	Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces	Weavers and cultivators	796,973
Pardhan	Central Provinces	Cultivators, musicians, criminals	118,677
Poroja	Madras	Cultivators	98,598
Rabia	Assam	Shifting cultivators labourers	79,756
Rajwar	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Rajputana	Field labourers	192,613
Rona	Madras	Cultivators, traders, soldiers	39,166
Santal	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Cultivators	2,138,310
Sauria Paharia	Bihar and Orissa	Shifting cultivators	64,617
Savar	Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Central Provinces, Central India	Cultivators and nomads	582,342
Tipara	Bengal	Shifting cultivators	139,795
Turi	Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Basket makers	90,378
Varli	Bombay	Shifting cultivators labourers	192,609
Yanadi	Madras	Labourers	121,839
Yerrana	Coorg	Hunters and labourers	18,264
Yenkala	Madras	Vagrants and criminals	88,319
		Total	19,080,667

\* A minority of Bhils and Bhilalas classed under Domestic Untouchables



wish the British public to disregard the living sentiment of their Moslem fellow-subjects are wilfully shutting their eyes to an extremely grave situation that has arisen within the Empire in the past fifty or sixty years. They are wilfully trying to delude the people of England to suppose that this living sentiment is of no significance, that it is a mere "shadowy terror."

At the gravest crisis in the war, when doubts and apprehensions had grown up in Moslem minds as to the designs and intentions of the Allies respecting Turkey, Mr. Lloyd George, speaking in the name of the British nation and the Empire as a whole, said "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital nor of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race" These words, deliberately and solemnly uttered on January 5, 1918, had the effect of allaying the panic which had arisen among the Moslems, who had lavishly given their wealth and unstinting help to the British cause, their doubts and apprehensions were removed. They accepted the declaration of the Prime Minister as a solemn pledge given by, and on behalf of, the British Empire that Constantinople, Thrace, and Turkey Proper would be left intact and uninterfered with. To raise an outcry against the fulfilment of this pledge after full advantage of it had been taken by Great Britain, would be regarded by the Moslem world as the greatest breach of faith. Moslem soldiers laid down their lives in the cause of England in the firm belief that the word of England would never be broken, and if at this juncture, at the demand of a section of the press and people of England, the pledge is to be broken, the effect, to my mind, would be disastrous.

I have stated the point of view from which I look at the question as a British citizen. I think it right to say a few words regarding Turkey. It is extraordinary that Englishmen do not see the absurdity of the fulminations against Islam and the right of the Ottoman Caliph to the religious headship which his family and his house have held

for over four centuries. The fact remains that the Sunni world, which includes by far the largest proportion of Moslems, accepts him as *de jure* and *de facto* Imam and spiritual head. Constantinople has been the capital of the Caliphate and of the Turkish Empire ever since 1453. It is now covered with Moslem institutions with Moslem shrines, mosques, mausolea. It has become a Moslem city, and is regarded as a sacred city, sacred by its associations and traditions to the Moslem world. It is certainly not so sacred as Mecca and Medina, but in the eyes of Islam, from the shores of the Atlantic as far towards the East as the Pacific, it is loved and venerated next to the Holy Cities, it is lovingly called Islambol, which is the name by which it is commonly known. This is not a new word. It has existed ever since its capture by Muhammed II. and a reference to it will be found in the well known work of Professor Grosvenor, the American author.

Adrianople is also regarded as a holy city. To drive the Turk from Constantinople and Thrace which is, as Mr Lloyd George has stated, predominantly Turkish in race would be a degradation to the Caliph and would be regarded as an insult to Islam. Is it to be wondered at then, that the threat should create immense and vehement feeling in the Moslem world? The French, with their practical common sense realize this. It is strange that in England which holds in her hands the destinies of three to four times as many Moslems as France does, there should be such violent animosity where the feelings of the King's Moslem subjects are concerned.

There is another point. The Turks have been called cruel rulers, and they have been accused of committing terrible crimes. On the other hand the Turkish rulers gave to the Jews, when they fled from the gibbet and the stake of Christian Spain, a generous asylum. They guaranteed to their non-Moslem subjects the fullest toleration, and secured them the freest enjoyment of their com-

munal and religious rights. Muhammad II., who captured Constantinople, granted them a charter, which has been renewed time after time. Greeks, Armenians, and Jews have prospered in their dominions, and have enjoyed the rights and privileges from a time when the word toleration was unknown in Europe. Even at the time of Alexander Pope, the poet, the Roman Catholics in England had to pay double land tax. The Turkish capitation tax on non-Moslems was lighter in comparison to the burden of the revenue on the Turkish Moslems. The Turkish rulers have ruthlessly suppressed revolutions and risings fostered almost always from outside, but is there any other nation which has not been ruthless in repressing rebellion? What about Russia? Fair-minded people must remember that there are always two sides to every question, and Turkey has not been allowed a hearing up to this time.

## CONSTANTINOPLE AND ARMENIA

### *Interview with H E BOGHOS NUBAR PASHA*

WE found His Excellency at the Carlton Hotel very much absorbed in Armenian affairs, as was to be expected. But he proved quite ready to give for the benefit of the readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW, an account of what the interests of Armenia were, and how these interests could be secured.

When the subject of the Golden Horn was broached he weighed his words with the utmost care. 'Unfortunately, the question of Constantinople has sometimes been connected with that of Armenia. But these two questions are distinct from each other. Constantinople concerns the interests of the Allied Powers. Yes, there above all the European interests are at stake. The Powers have had to weigh the respective merits of the two solutions: whether, that is to say, the Turks should remain in Constantinople or otherwise. It was not for the Armenians to take up any position with regard to this question, and we have carefully avoided doing this.

"And what, your Excellency, are the vital interests of Armenia?"

"They may be stated quite briefly. To unite in one republic Erivan with those provinces of what was Turkey which contained a majority of Armenians by race before the war. That is our aim. And to enable this Armenian republic to live, we ask for an outlet on the Black Sea, which is absolutely vital to allow our new state to develop and prosper. No," he added, "I will not give the name of any particular port. I will confine myself to what I said: an outlet on the Black Sea."

"And what is your attitude with regard to Cilicia?"

‘ There we have always accepted gladly the provisions of the Sykes Picot agreement. By that agreement Cilicia comes under the protection of France. That means, as I understand it, that Cilicia will be liberated from the influence of Turkey, and at last be restored to tranquility. In fact, that has been distinctly promised to us, and that is why Armenian volunteers fought under French command in the Syrian campaign, and our aspirations have always been well understood.

“ Do you anticipate any dangers in the north ? ”

No, there the position is satisfactory. Our good friends the Georgians have been our neighbours for centuries and our relations are very cordial. Besides it is to our mutual advantage. We have a common interest to withstand the dangers of Bolshevism and Pan Turanianism.

And what would be your policy towards a reformed and a restored Russia ?

That would depend on the policy they adopted towards Armenia. I do not think the Russians can have any pretensions to Armenia after they have been presented with the *fait accompli* recognized by the Peace Conference. As for Persia ” he proceeded “ there again we can look forward to an amicable understanding—the Persians retaining their old Western frontier.

‘ Has the time passed for an American mandate ? ’

‘ As far as we are concerned, not at all. We should accept it most gladly. But it does not rest with us. The point is, are they now willing to do it ? Even to-day we ask for the mandate of a Power under the League of Nations. That is our demand before the Supreme Council. I do not know whether the American Senate will revise their decision. But there is still hope that they will help in other ways. Perhaps they will be able to find another formula ”

“ What is your Excellency’s view about the Greek claims in the Pontus region ? ”

‘ I am glad to say that we are on the best of terms with

the Greeks, whose experiences of Turkish misrule bear a tragic resemblance to ours. Trebizond is in any case not one of the Armenian provinces, and we make no claims whatever in that district."

Boghos Nubar Pasha is a veteran, but he has borne his years of indefatigable labour well. His career at the head of large agricultural and irrigation works will be long remembered in Egypt, where his father was Prime Minister at the time of the British occupation. And Armenia is indeed fortunate to have as the spokesman of her policy in this critical time such an able and experienced statesman, whose counsel will always be moderation, and to whom exaggerated claims are anathema.

## THE FUTURE OF THE ARMENIAN STATE

### *Interview with the ARMENIAN PATRIARCH at Constantinople*

THE Armenian Patriarch, who is responsible for the spiritual welfare of all the Armenians in Turkey, explained at once that life had been made intolerable for his fellow countrymen there. "And the blame must be laid at the door of the Turkish regime. It is our earnest prayer to be liberated once and for all. The problem of Constantinople has nothing to do with it. For us the Turkish question is closed once the Armenian State has become recognized.

' And what of the Kurds ?

"It must never be forgotten that the Kurds have been our neighbours for centuries. They are herdsmen, who tend their flocks on the hills. They are illiterate, have not even an alphabet for their language. But they have been instigated to cruelty from without. We respect their desire for independence, and when they have been freed from baneful external influences we hope to be in good neighbourly relationship with them—as of old. There is no reason why it should be otherwise. We are on excellent terms with the Persians, the Armenians in Tabriz have

always been very well treated. The same is the case in Georgia. There the Armenians are largely the moneyed class. But the Georgians welcome them; and, in fact, the Mayor of Tiflis is usually an Armenian."

"And what are the internal problems of the new Armenian State?"

"There will be no land question—that is one thing! The land is owned by the peasants, who are on excellent terms with the dwellers in the towns. There is no Bolshevism. Every village has its primary schools, and secondary education will be immediately taken in hand. Then the Republic of Erivan is organizing a University. Besides there are mines—and here I should like you to say that European financial interests will be much more effectively safeguarded in an Armenian State than under the old régime. Can they not see that the civilized Armenian will have far more requirements under a settled government, and that concessions granted to Europeans will thereby become much more valuable."

"What do you calculate is the present Armenian population?"

"I can read you out this table

Armenian Provinces	..	100,000	Caucasus	.	300,000
Cilicia		200,000	Syria		100,000
Constantinople		150,000	Persia		20,000
Smyrna	..	100,000	Erivan		2,000,000
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		550,000			2,420,000

"And you look forward to a prosperous future?"

"We shall need help at first. Our rich country has been brought to the verge of starvation. We stand in need of the first necessities of life. But our people are hard-working and intelligent, and these qualities reap their assured reward under good government."

## CORRESPONDENCE

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"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

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### THE FUTURE OF TURKEY

SIR,

Knowing the interest which you take in the settlement of the Turkish Question, I hope that you will grant me the hospitality of your columns to refer to several points which, so far, do not seem to have received the attention which they deserve

The decision taken by the Supreme Council, and the policy supported by Mr Lloyd George in the House of Commons on February 26, in regard to the future of Constantinople are perfectly justifiable for several distinct reasons

1 The British Government was absolutely pledged by the words used by the Premier, who said in his address to Trades Union delegates on January 5 1918 "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race. We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople. These words were bound to be considered as a pledge and not a mere inducement to Turkey to go out of the war, and they stand out as unique in their importance because

(a) They constituted, not an answer to a question in Parliament or a casual statement, but they formed part of a definite declaration of war aims—a declaration made when a statement of policy was widely demanded by public opinion throughout the British Empire



(b) The Prime Minister said at the time that "although the Government are alone responsible for the actual language I propose using, there is a national agreement as to the character and purpose of our war aims and peace conditions, and he claimed to be "speaking not merely the mind of the Government, but of the nation and of the Empire as a whole

(c) Whilst the above-quoted statement of policy preceded President Wilson's address to Congress of January 8, 1918 it formed the counterpart of that address, which contained the 'Fourteen Points'. The twelfth of these "Points included a statement that 'The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty'

(d) The armistices with Turkey and with the other enemy countries were concluded on the basis of these declarations by the President of the United States and by the British Premier, and Mr Lloyd George was returned to power when the terms of the various armistices were already known

2 The Turks constitute the largest element in the population of Constantinople

3 It would undoubtedly have been resented by our fellow-subjects—the people of India—vast numbers of whom have fought loyally for the Allied cause and for the cause of freedom, had the Turks been driven from Constantinople and had the British pledges upon this subject been broken. For this reason alone, and because it is our primary duty to work for British interests rather than for those of any other people or country, it seems that the policy adopted is justifiable and necessary

4 The setting-up of an international régime to *govern* Constantinople would have been far more difficult than the establishment of *control* of the Straits or even of the bands of territory by which they are bordered

5 The banishment of the Ottoman Government to Broussa, Konia, or Angora, would have decreased the

opportunity for Turkish intercourse with Western civilization.

6. The control of the Turkish Government can be made much more real on the Bosphorus than were that Government to have its seat in a city located far from the sea, and therefore where the existence of the international fleet in the Sea of Marmora would and could have no direct influence.

I think that the opponents of the Turkish retention of Constantinople have made a great mistake in confusing this issue with their advocacy of the cause of the non-Turks especially the Christians, of Asia Minor. Thus, whilst Constantinople constitutes the *pièce de résistance* of the Eastern Question so far as Europe be concerned, the future distribution and government of Asia Minor are, in fact, far more important to the various subject-races of Turkey. There must be an Armenia—an Armenia sufficiently large and strong to enable it to live, to develop, and to accommodate, not only the actual inhabitants of the areas concerned, but also those who may desire to immigrate into them from other parts of the present Ottoman Empire or elsewhere in the world. On the other hand, so far as the remainder of Anatolia be concerned, it would seem vastly preferable to leave all this territory to Turkey, among many other reasons because this would avoid the establishment of two rivals—Italy and Greece—as neighbours in Asia, and because, whatever may be the advantages possibly to be gained by the latter country at Smyrna, these advantages will be far more than counterbalanced by the creation of a new Cretan Question—a question which must react against the interests of the large number of Hellenes, who will in any case, and of necessity, remain domiciled in territories belonging to Turkey.

Yours faithfully,

H. CHARLES WOODS.

February 28, 1920.

## THE NEAR EASTERN CHAOS

BY LIEUT -COLONEL A C YATE

THERE is no question at this moment more prominently before the world's mind than the future of the Turkish Empire. We have seen it discussed from every conceivable point of view, and especially from the point of view of the Indian Moslem community, generally estimated at seventy millions—the bulk of whom, as some discerning cynic remarked, know little and care less about the subject. We Christians, professed or otherwise, in our ignorance are just aware that the great Moslem sect is the Sunni, and the next to that the Shi'a. The former embraces for the most part the Turk, Afghan, Indian and African, and the latter the Persian. Two of His Majesty's Indian subjects, His Highness the Agha Khan and the Right Hon Syed Ameer Ali, have especially stood forward as the protagonists of the Indian Moslem in his sympathy with the Sultan of Rum and his claim to the Caliphate. It is difficult for us Christians to get into the back of the minds of these Moslems. General Tyrrell acutely remarked that he presumed that the sympathy of the Indian Moslem with the Sultan and his Caliphate was due to the fact that the Indian had the good fortune never to have come under Turkish misrule. We have witnessed marvellous specimens during this war of diplomatic ineptitude, such as the gift of Constantinople and the Straits to Russia, and of Cyprus to Greece—an ineptitude that would almost seem to justify the apotheosis of Sir Auckland Geddes at the expense of all the brain power of our orthodox diplomats, were it not that it was the Asquith Cabinet and not the Diplomatic Service that was responsible for those colossal blunders. What we

are now doomed to witness is the Supreme Council revoking its judgment on the Turk, while Armenia in vain appeals for protection. It is a deplorable spectacle, alike unworthy of the British nation as the greatest and most successful of all the peoples who have explored and assimilated the East, of France, which from the sixteenth century onward had sought to dominate the Levant, and under Napoleon, had aspired to the acquisition of Constantinople and the invasion of India, and of the United States of America, which, having for a century maintained a great missionary and educational service in Asia Minor and Western Persia, and founded famous colleges at Stamboul and Beyrout lack the inspiration and spirit to undertake the protection of the Christian communities which lie between the devil and the deep sea of the Turco Persian borders take they the form of Sunni or Shi'a. The Allied administration of this territory, where again "three Empires meet," viz., Turkey Persia and what was Russia, has been feeble in the extreme. This can probably be traced to that lack of unity which is so apt to be the radical weakness of an alliance and in the post war alliance the potentially strongest and yet the intrinsically weakest factor has been the United States of America.

When the Central Asian Society drew up its programme for the session 1919-20, it was obvious that the Armenian question demanded attention. To that end Boghos Nubar Pasha the head of the Armenian delegation in Paris, was approached and invited to nominate an Armenian competent to lay their case before the Society. This His Excellency was so good as to do, and on December 17, 1919 at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Mr Funduklian delivered an address which, whether viewed as a *résumé* of Armenian history or an exposition of Armenian sufferings, was a masterly performance. In the absence of Lord Carnock, owing to indisposition, the chair was ably taken by Col Sir Thomas Holdich, ex-President of the Royal Geographical Society, and to the pertinence of his comments in the discussion were added those of Lord Lamington, Brigadier-

General Sir P. M. Sykes, Mr. J. A. Malcolm, President of the Armenian Association, and Mr. Athelstan Riley. Did space admit, I would gladly reproduce here what was said on that occasion. As far as I had opportunity of judging the daily and weekly Press paid no more attention to the opinions of these experts than they did a month later when, in the same place and before the same Society, Mr. Roland Michell, for thirty years Commissioner of Limasol, stated the case for the retention of Cyprus, and in that was supported in the most emphatic language by two ex-High Commissioners of Cyprus, Sir W. F. Haynes Smith and Sir Charles King-Harman, and by Sir William Mitchell Ramsay. It is indeed a fortunate thing in these days when a good cause can look for support to some more broadly-minded advocacy than that which the average editorial columns of to-day afford. I am told that the retention by Britain of Cyprus is settled, and I am further told that the French Government has stipulated that Cyprus shall not be surrendered by Britain to Greece or anyone else, until France has been consulted. In view of the French interest at stake in Syria and Cilicia, this is perfectly reasonable.

Before I quit the subject of Armenia, let me invite those who take a real interest in its past history to refer to volume vi., pp. 89-91, of Sismondi's "*Histoire des Republiques Italiennes*." The mercantile importance of Armenia in the Middle Ages is there duly indicated, and what is more curious, the identity in faith and doctrine of its Church with that of Rome asserted, and the assertion confirmed in the following note: "*L'Eglise d'Armenie avait été réunie à l'église catholique en 1145, 1190, and 1247.*" I do not by this mean to contend that there is any virtue in this *rapprochement* between Etchimizazin and Rome. It would seem that the Armenian Church, even when most threatened by the sword of Islam, never acknowledged the Papal supremacy. Christianity to my thinking stands on its own base, regardless of sect.

The American Church can speak for the American nation.

though the White House and the Senate are gagged. When the political tie between the two great sections of the Anglo-Saxon race is paralyzed by party dissensions or presidential aspirations, the ecclesiastical bond draws the twain into closer alliance, and extends their united sympathy both to the Greek and the Armenian Churches, and if to the Churches, then also to the peoples. We trust that this united effort will prevail. How can the Supreme Council maintain the Turk at Constantinople in the face of the renewed massacres in Cilicia? But, as the Rev Harold Buxton so clearly states in *The Times* of March 3, the great defaulter in this case is the United States of America. I quote the concluding paragraph of his most telling report, as an eye-witness of what has happened at and around Aintab, Marash and Adana. "The question remains as to who is responsible for the new betrayal of the Armenians. It is natural enough to blame the French and they bear their full share of the responsibility. But it was from across the Atlantic that we looked for a mandatory power for Armenia if not for Asia Minor. The President gave us ample reasons to count on an American mandate. It was and is the only true solution. Without it, the same horrors will be repeated and thousands of women and children will die a death of torture and agony. I maintain that no settlement of Turkey can be satisfactory without America in it. Can nothing be done even at this eleventh hour to stir America? Can she sit and watch the horrors unmoved? Such an appeal ought to move a heart of stone.

With the Turk we have erred as with the German. We took no hostages, and when we did take them then incompetent warders let them escape to Azerbaijan. Quite irrespective of official reports we have had private evidence of the Turkish brutality to our Kut prisoners. When Captain Keeling whose romantic narrative of escape from Kastamuni had been read before both the Royal Geographical and the Central Asian Societies, told us what he witnessed on the march from Kut into Asia Minor, Major-General Sir Charles

Melliss confirmed his statements in the most emphatic language (Incidentally I may add that Captain Keeling, in addressing the Central Asian Society, stated that the assertion of *Truth* that Sir Charles Townshend could have fought his way out of Kut through the Turkish lines was an absolute and ignorant lie ) For that brutality, the very thought of which makes the heart sick, no penalty has been exacted, and now all those who know anything of the Middle East know that we are face to face with a situation in which lack of unity and great diversity of interest are very grave sources of weakness Let us glance for a moment at the rival ambitions that rack Asia Minor, The Caucasus, Mesopotamia, Syria, Kurdistan, and Arabia at this moment We have Italian and Greek, Turk, Tartar, Georgian and Armenian, Kurd and Nestorian, Arab and Frenchman, Denikin, with his face to the Bolshevik and behind his back the hostile Moslem, and Mustapha Kamal dominating all eastern Asia Minor, each and all of these fighting for his own hand, and the European Christian Powers not in unison to constrain or restrain the Asiatic, but rivals of one another There is nothing new in that In the sternest days of the Crusades neither prelate nor prince of Europe could put faith in his neighbour, and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Sultan of Rum was as often as not allied with one Prince of Christendom against the other.

The chaos which prevails in parts of Europe and Asia is of that type which, so to speak, can only shake and shape itself into order We must frankly admit that the task imposed upon the Supreme Council has been one which transcends the ordinary standard of human provision and organization To see this we have but to concentrate our minds on events since the Armistice, and then add a heavy percentage for the difficulties and drawbacks of the American defection and the agitation of the Indian Moslem.

## THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY REPORT

BY J D ANDERSON

It is with no little diffidence and reluctance that I comply, as best I can, with our Editor's request that I should write a few words on the subject of the Report—it occupies five bulky volumes—of the Commission on the University of Calcutta. It is a Report which should be read by all who are interested in university education in all parts of the Empire. It has been very ably analyzed and discussed in *The Times Educational Supplement* by a writer who is evidently intimately acquainted with Indian educational problems. I doubt if I can add anything of interest or value to what is there set down. Moreover since I was honoured (and a little frightened) by having this task allotted to me, the Educational Department of the Government of India has issued a Resolution explaining how the Report presents itself to the minds of the responsible authorities at Delhi, and how far they propose to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission in the legislative action which they intend to take. However, it is possible that not all readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* will see the Resolution in question, and so I may be excused if I venture to explain, to the best of my ability, what has been found to be lacking in the methods of university teaching in Calcutta, and how it is proposed to provide a tentative remedy.

In the first place may I venture to say that critics of the Report have been a little too ready to assume that there is something very rotten in the state of higher education in Bengal. If we are to judge the Calcutta University by its fruits, by the best results of its teaching, we need not despair. Educated Bengalis have not done badly in the world wide struggle for distinction. A Bengali was the first to enter the Indian Civil Service, another was the first to



attain to the responsible post of a Commissioner of a Division, a third was the first selected to be Chief Secretary of another province than his own, a post requiring much tact, discretion, and knowledge of men. Another was the first Indian to be made a member of His Majesty's Privy Council, and we all rejoice that Lord Sinha's services "to his king and country" (to use his own words) were rewarded by elevation to the peerage. We all hope that a famous Bengali man of science may shortly be elected to the coveted honour of Fellowship of the Royal Society. I might multiply other instances of distinguished success in academical or political life. I must at least, mention the names of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee lately Vice-Chancellor of the university and author or instigator of many interesting additions to its curriculum, of Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri and among juniors such already distinguished scholars as Mr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Mr Kiran Chandra Mukherjee Mr Jnanendramohan Das, and many others. A university that can boast such graduates as these has not wholly failed in the promotion of sound learning.

Again though no one can be more conscious than I of the drawbacks of imparting instruction in a foreign language, let us at once admit that the teaching of English has had wonderful, and not altogether expected results in the evolution of Bengali literature. In Europe we are familiar with the influence which foreign literatures exercise over the growth of indigenous literary expression. In Bengal there has been no mere aping of English style. But the quick wits and vivid imaginations of Bengali writers have seized with avidity on the various forms of literary art presented to them by English poets novelists essayists, dramatists. Not only men but women also some of the latter graduates of Calcutta, have written books, which manifestly owe their matter or their manner to what has been written by English men or English women. Let me repeat that there has been no mere imitation. In almost every case there is an individual style, and a style which is unmistakably Bengali.

Everyone, even here, recognizes the characteristic genius of a Tagore. But there are others also. One of the most remarkable novelists now living is Mr Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, whose gifts of humour and pathos are not only his own, but are part of his national heredity. What he has learned from English is simply a new vehicle of self-expression, the novel, and no one who has read his admirable tales will deny that he has bettered the lesson. I will not labour my point. I merely wish to assert, very earnestly, that, so far as the elite is concerned, Calcutta has been justified by the literary exploits of her children. She may well be proud of them.

But that, of course, is not to say that she could not, and should not, have done better. But here again we must discriminate and not be hasty to condemn. There have been two impediments. One, a necessary defect at the beginning, was too stringent control by the Government. The university was professedly and of set purpose an imitation of Western models, and specifically of the great University of London. Its teachers and professors and governing body were in 1857, the date of its foundation and for many years later, without practical experience of the system they were set to copy. The other limitation was that of expense. Calcutta is still one of the cheapest universities in the world. Where this means a deficiency (as it too often does) of libraries, laboratories, and other essential aids to learning, no defence is possible. But for frugality and simplicity, there is something to be said for an Eastern climate. Even the now condemned system of living in messes and lodgings (which, after all, is the system still followed by the University of Paris, venerable mother of our own Oxford and Cambridge) had its advantages, as any reader of modern Bengali novels may see for himself. Some day soon, I am told, we shall all be reading Tagore's "*Nauká Dubi*" in a translation. Read it, and you will see that a Calcutta undergraduate's life in "*digs*" is not without its agreeable humours and compensations.

Yet, when all is said, the method of teaching in Calcutta had glaring imperfections, frankly admitted by all, not least by the most grateful *alumni* of the largest university in the empire, and (perhaps excepting one or two American universities) in the world. It was too large. It supplied higher education to a population roughly the same as that of the United Kingdom. It had, oddly enough, almost exactly the same number of undergraduates, some 26,000, as have all our universities put together. But there were, naturally many differences. The proportion of women students was, of course small. That was a defect which only time could remedy and is rapidly remedying. But the majority of the students were of the three great literary castes—Brahmans, Vaidyas, and Kayasthas. Not only were the lower, the indigenous castes, Namasadras and others, grievously lacking but the Mahommedans, who in Bengal are more than half the population, were only present in small numbers. The number of undergraduates was not only ten times as great in proportion to the literate population as in the United Kingdom but it was greater still in proportion to the three great castes which almost monopolized higher education. Now none of these castes is, as a whole, very wealthy and their sons were compelled to make their university education a stepping-stone to earning their livelihood. Here again the social and economical state of the country made it difficult for Calcutta students to take up technical training for professions, learned or other. The law, as we know, attracted many. Bengal is a litigious land, and Bengalis are acute and learned lawyers. Physic and surgery attracted a few, but, save in Government service, medicine has not, till lately, had many prizes, unless in one or two of the larger towns, among a population which was content to accept the traditional and empirical art of heading as practised by *kavirajes* and even ignorant impostors. That, after all, is a stage from which we have not wholly emerged ourselves. Over 22,000 out of a total of 26,000 followed purely literary courses as contentedly as our own

fathers took *Litteræ humaniores* or the Classical Tripos in our own universities. These, we are told, correctly enough, "do not fit them for any but administrative, clerical, teaching, and (indirectly) legal careers." The economic state of the country was largely to blame for this. But that economic state is rapidly being altered, and, moreover, the outturn of merely literary students was growing more than could be absorbed by the limited professions of the country.

Worse, however, remains to be told. Admission to the university was regulated by a portentous matriculation examination, the largest and probably the worst examination of its kind in the world. It dealt with no less than 16,000 candidates every year, supplied by 700 high schools, whose whole purpose was to cram boys for this examination. From time to time attempts were made to raise its standard and widen its subject, or at least to mark candidates so as to ensure some sort of fitness for university instruction. The result, naturally enough, was parental cries of dismay, newspaper agitation, social pressure, appeals to a paternal and good-natured government. Even men who could see the evil of the system disliked the remedies applied, and we must admit that, so applied, at short notice and perhaps with some appearance of irresponsibility, they gave some just cause for complaint. Imagine yourself in the place of a Bengali father of small means who had put himself to great expense in sending his boy to the best school out of the 700 available, and you will sympathize rather than condemn.

But there could be but one result. Thousands of lads, generally about eighteen years old, were admitted when they were still quite unfitted for higher education. Hence the first two years of the undergraduate's life were spent in preparing for the "intermediate examination," which was, in fact, the true matriculation, since the two years were spent in learning or relearning what ought to have been properly imparted at school. The examination itself was terribly destructive and got rid of half the total number. They

were not wholly disappointed, it was true, since even permission to study for the intermediate could be made the door to the humbler forms of clerical employment. India is (or was) a frugal land, and many an honest gentleman performs tasks for a pittance which his like would scorn in Europe. But the schools became cramming shops for the matriculation, and the colleges of which the university is composed, lectured and crammed for the intermediate examination and that in subjects which demanded a retentive memory rather than an ingenious and healthily developed intelligence. The university as such, confined itself to examining undergraduates belonging to the affiliated colleges which supplied its examiners. It only taught graduates, in what we may call post-graduate courses.

But the colleges, again, were not as our colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. They were, in fact, exaggerated, enormous day schools without any of the facilities for games or instruction which our great day schools supply. They had not any adequate libraries and some pathetically amusing examples are given of the kind of rubbish which found its way to their shelves. They were, as the Commission says somewhere, "barracks of lecture rooms". The same might, perhaps, be said (if we omit mention of libraries and laboratories) of the Sorbonne. But the Sorbonne supplies the finest and most stimulating lectures in the world, given by men to whom lecturing and exposition are a fine art, to be practised with sedulous devotion. The lectures in Calcutta were, frankly, cram lectures, intended to enable students to pass examinations rather than to evoke their latent love of learning. That with the study of text-books (largely learned by rote) was the sort of training the ordinary undergraduate got. Think of the admirable material that must have been wasted, when you consider the performances of those whose natural talent and love of learning prompted them to supplement such arid nutriment by private reading and the friendly aid of harassed and overworked teachers. Tutors there were none. Hostels were few and ill found.

The colleges were of different sorts. Some, such as the famous Presidency College, with its 1,036 students, were Government institutions. Some, such as the Scottish Churches Colleges, were maintained by missionary societies. Others, of more modern origin, were supported by private liberality, or, more commonly, as a commercial speculation. Of its kind, the teaching was not wholly bad. But over them all was the university to which they were affiliated, and the whole education of Bengal was under the dead hand of a stereotyped form of literary examination. Besides the colleges in Calcutta itself, there were the country colleges at Dacca and elsewhere, similarly employed and at least as badly handicapped by want of equipment and books. Throughout the teachers, lecturers, professors were few, badly paid, and, even in frugal Bengal, correspondingly wanting in that social consideration which is the teacher's right in all civilized countries.

Dacca is now about to possess its own university, and Bihar has its own. These will be what we are to call, it seems, "unitary universities," possessing no subsidiary colleges. Further than this, neither the Commission nor the Government is prepared to go at present in the direction of new universities. But both see the absolute necessity of getting rid of the intermediate stage of education. This might have been done by insisting on a higher standard of education in the 700 schools, and by altering the matriculation education. But to handle the reform of 700 schools at once, to provide equipment and teachers for them all, is a task to frighten any Commission, not to say any Government with a pocket which has a limit in size.

The Commission has invented a device, which has been accepted and acted on by the Government, and this, indeed, the Commission calls "the very pivot of our whole scheme of reform." They propose to create a new institution, to be called "the intermediate college." This will not only render it unnecessary to make too drastic a change in the 700 schools, but will supply a valuable means of disposing of

those colleges, metropolitan or other, which are not fitted to form part of the reformed university. This intermediate college will admit boys of sixteen or older, who have passed the "high school examinations," an amended version of the old matriculation examination. It will supply a course of two years to its students, who, if they pass a new "intermediate college examination," will then go on to the university proper. Sometimes these new intermediate colleges will be, in fact, the upper classes of high schools. Elsewhere they will be separate colleges, and, let us hope, the foci of future provincial universities. Assam and Rajshahi and Chittagong ought soon to have their own universities. Chittagong especially, with its nobly situated madrassa and its large and prosperous high school, has long been marked out as a future university town, standing as it does where Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism meet, to say nothing of the large population of Portuguese Roman Catholics.

When these changes are effected, Calcutta will still be as great in point of numbers as Oxford and Cambridge put together, and will still possess at least 6,000 pupils. The Government resolution above quoted evidently aims at making the colleges of which it will be composed into something like the resident colleges with which we are familiar. There will be three different classes of colleges. The "incorporated" college will be, in fact, a department of the university, with its own buildings, financed by the university, and dealing with some particular subject, such as law or science. Then there will be the "constituent college," a fully admitted member of the university, and, thirdly, the "temporarily affiliated college," taken experimentally and destined, in case of failure to come up to the new requirements, to be relegated to the class of "intermediate college," which is, in fact, an addition (perhaps not a wholly happy, if necessary, addition) to either Western or Eastern systems of education. As to the provincial colleges, it seems likely that they will either in due course

become provincial universities, or will fall to the status of intermediate colleges.

Perhaps the most important part of the Government Bill to deal with the University of Calcutta is that which removes it from the direct supervision of the supreme Government of India to that of the Bengal Government. This follows naturally enough on the removal of the capital to Delhi. But it comes also at an opportune time when His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay is Governor of Bengal. It is well known that his Lordship is an expert in education, and has taken a deep and personal interest in the educational problems of the province over which he presides. He will make, as all will admit an admirably competent and sympathetic Chancellor. Under him will be, for the first time a whole-time and adequately salaried Vice-Chancellor. Of other proposed changes I have not left myself room to speak, but those who are interested in the subject will most conveniently read of them in the Bill now being drafted, when it becomes law.

I hope I have said enough to show how interesting a departure in education the Commission has inaugurated. Let me add that we must all hope that Calcutta will soon be able to supply all the educational needs of the province. It is good that the educational elite of Bengal should come to Europe for postgraduate study, just as we may hope that Calcutta may, before long, provide courses of learning for our own young Orientalists whether trained at the older universities or at the new School of Oriental Studies, which has made so admirable a beginning under Sir E. Denison Ross. Already, under the fostering care of the venerable Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, some beginning has been made in this direction. There is no need, at this time of day, to defend the system of English education in India. It has given its proofs. But it must be admitted that in matters of Oriental learning, and especially in the study of the modern languages of India, the Indian universities have failed to supply means of study to their own children and especially to foreigners. In these branches of learning they



should be (as they admittedly are not at present) pre-eminent, and should draw students from Berlin, Paris, and London. Some beginning has already been made, and the Calcutta University Press is about to publish chrestomathies of Prakrit and various modern languages, which will be received with gratitude and delight by Indianists all over the world.

I am painfully aware that this is a very brief and ineffectual summary of one of the greatest educational experiments of our time. I have had to omit much that is of importance and interest—as, for instance, the carefully prepared schemes for the better payment and instruction of the teaching staff, and the recruiting of the European agency that will still be necessary. Let us hope that some of our best teachers will welcome this opportunity for serving the Empire by helping to educate young Bengal. They will never regret the choice. Nowhere in the world will they meet more intelligent and lovable pupils, if they know how to win their affection and regard. Bengal, like the rest of India, is greatly changed. But the old traditional relations between *guru* and *śiṣya* still survive, and anyone who has taught young Bengalis of either sex will agree with me in saying that better, quicker, or more studious learners do not exist in any country than in Bengal. English teachers in Bengal can follow the example of one of the greatest and most inspiring members of their tribe, the late Professor E. B. Cowell, and learn while they teach. If he had one fault as a teacher of Sanskrit, it has been said, it was that he pronounced the classical language of India as his own teachers, the pandits of Bengal, pronounce it. That, to me at least, seems no defect, since it made the language of the Ramayana and Mahabharata a living tongue to him. Where he, the greatest Sanskritist of his day in England, learned, others may learn too, and it is heartily to be hoped that Calcutta, with the help of adjacent Navadwip, one of the most ancient seats of Sanskrit learning in India, may become a world-centre of Oriental scholarship.

## THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT\*

BY JOHN POLLEN, C I E

OVER India, the most conservative country in the wide wide world, Britain has determined to introduce and gradually establish a democratic system of government on Western lines. She has rejected without consideration the suggestion that it would be better to proceed on Eastern lines, by restoring 'India' to the descendants of her chiefs and kings, pledging them to set up Indian parliaments and to reign as limited monarchs under British suzerainty, and, instead of this, she aims at handing over the direction of domestic affairs throughout a vast population of various races following various religions and speaking many tongues, to parliaments springing from and representative of all classes. This is a stupendous undertaking, and needs the cordial co operation of Briton and Indian in a common purpose to render it a success. But if it can be accomplished successfully, it may result in United India's becoming a great prosperous, and well governed, self-governed country loyal to the British Crown and capable of rendering far reaching services to all humanity.

Every one who wishes India well and desires to see her prosper and progress must hope that to the King-Emperor, and his people and servants, Indian and British, may be granted grace and strength in close co-operation to accomplish the mighty task now definitely set before them.

But the difficulties in the path have to be faced fairly and squarely, pitfalls have to be skilfully avoided and obstacles courageously overcome. What these difficulties, dangers,

\* 'A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement, by Sir Verney Lovett, K C S I. London John Murray, Albemarle Street, W 1920

and pitfalls are Sir Verney Lovett has set forth without bitterness and in a spirit of true brotherhood and determined co-operation in his "History of the Indian National Movement."

He has extenuated nothing—nor has he set down aught in malice—but has told the story of the rise of Indian Nationalism as a plain unvarnished tale.

However rapid the spread of this Nationalism may have been, he points out that Hindu society is still divided into castes and sub-castes to a great extent rigidly separated from one another by customary occupations and social status, and that, with very few exceptions, these castes neither intermarry nor eat together; that there are still in India many millions of comparatively ignorant cultivators and labourers who carry on most of the work of the country; and that, as the Honourable Mr. Muhammed Ali Jinnah has recently declared, "India is still a vast continent inhabited by 315 millions of people, sprung from various racial stocks, professing a variety of religious creeds and in various stages of intellectual and moral growth."

And in the administration of such a country as this, Mr. Jinnah admits, there stands out first and foremost the great fact that British rule in India with its Western character and standards of administration, "while retaining absolute power of initiative, direction, and decision, has maintained for many decades unbroken peace and order in the land, administered even-handed justice, brought the Indian mind, through a widespread system of Western education, into contact with the thoughts and ideals of the West, and thus led to the birth of a great and living movement for the intellectual and moral regeneration of the people"; while Mr. Mazumdar, for the Congress, further admits that the Government of the Crown, "actuated by its benevolent intentions, introduced, by slow degrees, various reforms and changes which gradually broadened and liberalized the administration and restored peace and order throughout the country," and finally succeeded in establishing "a form of adminis-

ration which in its integrity and purity could well vie with that of any other civilized country in the world, while the security of life and property which it conferred was, until lately, a boon of which any people might be justly proud '

These are deliberate public admissions, and not merely ' conventional phrases about the blessings of British rule '

These latter-day Congress utterances merely accentuate and confirm the declaration of Mr Subramania Aiyar who, in speaking to the first resolution of the first Indian National Congress in 1885, declared that "by a merciful dispensation of providence India, which was for centuries the victim of external aggression and plunder, of internal civil wars and general confusion, has been brought under the dominion of the great British Power The rule of Great Britain has, on the whole, been better in its results and direction than any former rule Without descanting at length upon the benefits of that rule, I can summarize them in one remarkable fact—that for the first time in the history of the Indian population there is to be beheld the phenomenon of national unity among them of a sense of national existence" This was the declared opinion of this representative of Madras in his robust manhood, although in his old age, he allowed himself to write to President Wilson denouncing British misrule and oppression in India, and declaring that "officials of an alien nation, speaking a foreign tongue force their will upon us they grant themselves exorbitant salaries and large allowances they refuse us education, they sap us of our wealth, they impose crushing taxes without our consent they cast thousands of our peoples into prisons for uttering patriotic sentiments—prisons so filthy that the inmates die from loathsome diseases "

This letter stands out in strange contrast, not only with this writer's own declarations at the first Congress, but with those of Dadabhai Naoroji (the founder of the East India Association, and the first Indian member of the British Parliament), who presided over the second Indian National

Conference in 1886 Dilating on the blessings of British rule, Mr Dadabhai Naoroji said

"Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone, that we understand the benefits British rule has conferred on us the education that has been given to us the new light that has been poured on us, turning us from darkness into light teaching the new lesson that kings are made for the people, not peoples for the kings, and this lesson we have learned amidst the darkness of Asiatic despotism only by the light of free English civilization This, like the declaration of the Maharajah of Ulwar at the Delhi War Conference 'that Britain has wished India well and has guided her destinies for 160 years, is a true saying, and it is true, as Sir Verney Lovett maintains that Britain's sons in India aided by Indians have established and maintained order, have dealt with obstacles have taken risks, and have worked indefatigably for progress' Necessity has trained them to consider what is really practicable in the interests of all communities and if their point of view were better understood we should hear less of the doctrine that unlike Britons at home, who are amiable philanthropists Britons in India are specious oppressors Sir Verney Lovett's

History of the Indian National Movement was in the press before the India Bill became law, so he could not deal with the latter in its final stage, but he hopes that the bitterness for which some circumstances are working may pass, and that His Majesty's appeal will stimulate active perception of the public good Never he declares has the message been clearer that the interests of Britain and India are essentially the same

From the recent utterances of Mrs Besant in India with regard to the Government of India Act, and from the new attitude she and Mr Jinnah have taken up towards the Extremists, it would almost seem that Sir Verney's hopes may be realized, and it is clear that Mr Surendra Nath Bannerjea at any rate, is determined to do his best to allay

the bitterness and, at the same time, to prevent the recurrence of the pain and humiliation which Mr Romesh Chandra Datt felt as he stood among representatives of free and advancing nations of the earth rejoicing in their national greatness, and realized that he alone, as an Indian, had no place among them.

Addressing the Rotary Club in Calcutta on January 31, 1920, Mr Surendra Nath Bannerjea said that the Indian Moderate party believed that the connection of England with India was a Divine dispensation ordained for the holiest and highest of ends, that India would never attain to the full height of her stature, or take her place amongst the nations of the earth, and fulfil her allotted portion in the evolution of humanity except by and through *her association with the freest Empire the world has ever seen*. He therefore appealed to representatives of the European Community, members of the Empire, friends of human freedom, to stand by Indians, to co-operate with Indians in securing the success of the great experiment on which the honour of England is staked and on which the future of India so largely depends.

It is true, as Sir Verney Lovett admits, that educated Indians have had some reason to complain of social barriers and that avoidable incidents occur from time to time. But the existing wall of reserve has been buttressed largely by the extreme sensitiveness and racial dislike often cherished by Nationalists themselves who desire that no Indians of prominence should be associated with Europeans even in social matters, quite forgetting that in the India of the future the European will be present as well as the Indian, and that the desire of the Indians "to be in their own country what other people are in theirs, specially appeals to the fair-minded Britisher in India as well as elsewhere." "Mending of manners" on both sides is devoutly to be desired, for, as Lord Cromer has remarked, "it would be difficult to say which course of conduct has done more harm in dealing with Easterns—discourtesy and violence on the one

hand, or maudlin sentimentality and naïve credulity on the other." Both extremes should be scrupulously avoided, and in the spirit of the King-Emperor's proclamations and appeals Indians should be regarded and treated as fellow-citizens and gentlemen, and inasmuch as trust begets trust, they should be trusted, unless and until proved unworthy of trust. Close co-operation for a common purpose between Britons and Indians in a spirit of fair play is the key to the whole position and constitutes the best guarantee for the success of the great experiment approved by Parliament and undertaken by the Government of India.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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### REFLECTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT OF WILD TRIBES OF THE NORTH EASTERN FRONTIER OF INDIA

By LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN SHAKESPEAR, C M G , C I E , D.S.O

IN presuming to discourse to you on the government of Wild Tribes, I do not venture to claim to be an expert in the art, but during a year's sojourn in bed, for which I have to thank the hated Hun, I have thought a good deal over my experiences and have been able to look at events more placidly than I did at the time, and to see better the other fellow's point of view. So when I saw our Hon. Secretary's invitation to members to volunteer to read papers, I was bold enough to think that possibly my reflections might be interesting and even useful.

This paper is not based entirely on my own experiences, but also on those of others with whom I have discussed the difficulties inseparable from governing Wild Tribes, and of getting one's way with the powers that be.

Before we go any further, let us take up the question of how it comes about that Wild Tribes have to be governed. The governing of these folk is a troublesome, often thankless, and always expensive matter. Why, then, does the Government of India take it up? Well, certainly not because it likes it. In fact, the Government of India will never take over the administration of any of them until every other expedient has been tried. These Wild Tribes round the borders of our settled districts are restless folk with short memories. A raid on a peaceful village



across the border is accompanied with very little danger, and is almost sure to result in considerable profit, while the honour and glory attached to the killing of human beings is great—in fact, among some tribes, no girl will marry a youth till he has brought back a head, and among others the killing of an enemy is one of the qualifications necessary for the soul's passage to the happy hunting grounds. Therefore it is not to be wondered at that there are many volunteers whenever a raid into our territory is proposed. The raiders, starting probably from a village several days' journey from the border and travelling swiftly by little-used paths, appear suddenly before dawn, burst into the village, kill the men, old women and infants, capturing as many young women and children as they can, and, loading on them as much loot as they can carry, are well on their way home before the news of the raid has reached the nearest Frontier outpost.

Now, what can be done to punish such folk? Occasionally luck may be on our side—a British officer may happen to be sufficiently near to pursue the raiders, inflict some loss and recover the captives, but such luck is rare, and generally the raiders reach their village in safety, to be received with joyous shouts and much beer as befits such heroes. Then there are two courses open to us, either to sit still and strengthen the frontier outposts—a "wait and see" policy which is perhaps even more fatal on the Indian Frontier than elsewhere—or to organize an expedition to punish the offenders. Even if such an expedition is entirely successful, its effect is but small. A few villages and granaries are burnt, very few of the enemy are seen, and still fewer are killed. It is safe to say that the punishment inflicted by even the biggest of our expeditions is forgotten in less than a generation. What wonder, then, that raids recur with monotonous regularity, till the patience of Government is exhausted and the order goes forth to occupy and administer the country!

A military force enters the hills, and probably meets

with little serious opposition, as the tribes all feel sure that the force will soon retire as all other forces have done before. So when the unhealthy season begins the general and his merry men return home to enjoy the rewards of their toil, leaving a young Political Officer and a small garrison in a fort on a hill-top to represent that mysterious being the Sarkar, and to introduce *pax Britannica* among tribes which are pretty sure to be in a constant state of war among themselves.

Let us now consider the matter of governing Wild Tribes from two points of view—viz. that of the Wild Tribes themselves, and that of those who govern them. This latter point of view is really dual for there is that of the officer on the spot and that of the Government behind him. These two views often differ considerably.

The position from the Wild Tribes point of view is this. Some have already made a sort of submission to the General sahib but when they made it they hardly bargained for the permanent occupation of their country. Some think the sahib may be bamboozled into helping them in their quarrels, some stand frigidly aloof. All feel sure that the foreigners cannot remain long, they'll soon eat up all the food they have brought and then they'll go away. So all incline to wait and see what will happen.

Next to take the Government's point of view. First there's the bill to pay, which, like most of our bills, is bigger than it was expected to be—still, there has been little resistance. There seems a fair chance of all being well and that a spell of economy may enable it to recoup the heavy expenses of the expedition. It fully means to do its duty by its new subjects, but it has many other things to think of, many troublesome folk to deal with, many calls on its purse, and altogether it rather feels it has done enough for that portion of its charge for some time to come.

Now for the Political Officer's point of view. He is on trial, very much on trial. The Wild Tribes on one side are watching him very closely, and on their opinion of him

much depends; on the other side Government also is watching, certainly with no unkind thoughts—in fact, sympathetically, but still critically. And all is so new, so very new; possibly he has been previously employed on the frontier and may know something of the tribes close to it, but now he is in contact with many others. If he is lucky, he may know a little of the language of one of the many tribes he is expected to rule, but probably even his interpreter cannot speak more than two or three of the dozen different dialects used, and the interpreter himself is only an ignorant, semi-wild tribesman, who can be trusted to get drunk whenever he is urgently required to keep sober.

At first our young friend has not much scope for showing his capabilities as a governor, for, as I have said, his future subjects are like Brer Fox, lying low and waiting; but he'll have lots to do organizing the machinery of his little kingdom, for he is probably responsible for the whole show—supply, commissariat, transport, public works, posts and telegraphs, medical and sanitary arrangements. Fortunately he is probably not overburdened with instructions. To govern with equity and good conscience, untrammelled by rules, laws or conventions, were my first orders.

So there they are. The Wild Tribes shy and fidgety like unbroken colts; Government anxious to do its duty, but burdened with many other cares; and the Political Officer zealous and eager, but with a great deal to learn, and much impressed with the importance and the difficulties of his post.

“Just you touch me, and see what you'll get” is the attitude of the tribes. The Political Officer is not anxious for a row. He knows Government wants to keep down expenses, and that if he can get along without asking for help from outside it will be counted unto him for righteousness; so if he is wise he will go cautiously. As a good rider, however fearless, tries the paces of a new and timid mount before taking him over jumps, so the

Political Officer extends his control little by little and tightens it by degrees. Let us hope that he has been supplied with a sufficient force, sufficient not only in numbers but also in quality, equipment and transport, and that it is entirely at his disposal. If he has a detachment from the Regular Army, he can trust to its being efficient and well equipped, but he will not be able to move it about as freely as if it were military police. The equipment, etc., of a police force will probably cause him much anxiety, but, on the other hand, the men will quickly get accustomed to the country and will become hardier, more useful, and require less mothering than regular troops, who only come for a short time and cannot be expected to take as much interest in the work as police, who are going to make the country their home. So, on the whole, let us hope that he has an efficient and sufficient force of military police at his disposal. I say at his disposal, for it is all-important that he should be able to move them about without asking anyone's permission. Fifty men on the spot to-day may *prevent* an outbreak occurring but once it has occurred it may take many hundreds to quell it. Let us also hope that our young Political has sufficient European officers to help him. I always reckoned a good British officer as equivalent to a hundred rifles. A keen youngster from a good public school, sound in wind and limb, can generally be trusted to make a good Frontier Officer if wisely treated.

Though things will probably remain fairly quiet for a bit, trouble is sure to come. So he never so warily, a time will come when our Political has to fight or lose his prestige, and once this is lost, the sooner he packs up his traps and quits the country the better for all concerned. What will cause the trouble? Well, it may be that a truculent chief prefers to settle his quarrels in the old way, by raiding his neighbour's village to laying the case before a fair-skinned boy of half his age, or declines absolutely to pay any house tax, or supply any labour, or to come in to answer a charge

brought against him by a lesser chief, or even by one of his own subjects. There are numberless causes of quarrel. If our Political is wise, he will so manage matters that the quarrel shall be over a matter of first importance, and he will select the most powerful opponent available. For when it comes to justifying his action in the eyes of Government, there must be no question as to his having been right to fight, and by selecting a powerful opponent he will considerably lessen the chances of having to fight again. With the same object, he will make sure that the fight shall be to a finish, and he will do all in his power to make the punishment real; he will not be satisfied with merely storming stockades and burning empty villages, which can easily be rebuilt. He will consider carefully what form of punishment the enemy will feel most, and that he will inflict, not out of any feeling of anger or hatred, but simply because he knows well that it is the surest way to prevent a recurrence of the trouble. A Lushai once said to me, "Fighting you is like a man cutting the mist with a dao: the dao goes through, but it leaves no mark; we ambush you, and shoot more of your men than you do of ours, but it makes no difference—you go on, and when the rains come you go back to your comfortable forts and we are left in the jungles with no houses, no food, and no land ready for cultivation. Who will fight you again?" Then I knew my policy had been the right one.

One point he should never overlook: he must never negotiate a peace. No chief must be able to say, "We both got tired of fighting, so we agreed to stop." Once a chief elects to fight, there must be no terms but unconditional surrender. This does not necessarily mean a very long war, for if the war be carried on wisely, the hostile chief will gradually lose his followers, and become a fugitive of so little account that he may be ignored till an opportunity occurs to capture him—perhaps by a rapid night march. Even if he has to wait five years, as I did once, *it is better than negotiating a peace.*

In imposing punishments it is necessary to distinguish very clearly between offences committed before and those committed after submission. Theoretically, after any area has been taken over, all its inhabitants become automatically British subjects but I never treated a chief as a rebel unless he had formally made his submission previous to the outbreak of hostilities. Theories our young friend will do well to abjure. In dealing with his Wild Tribes let him stick to facts especially when the time comes, as it very soon will, for him to decide what he shall call on his people to pay and to do. In explaining matters to them let him be quite candid. He will do well to keep always before them that he is not there for his own pleasure that Government did not occupy their country just for fun but in consequence of their folly in continually raiding peaceful villages. Now that the Sarkar has taken possession of their country, the wisest thing they can do is to obey his orders. He must be very careful not to pamper them but on the other hand, he must steer clear of needlessly giving offence. He must study his wild folk till he really understands their point of view and can 'think black'. Evenings spent round the beer pot are by no means wasted much useful knowledge can be picked up.

It is impossible to give any infallible rule for acquiring the necessary influence over these Wild Tribes. Colonel Lewin, the Pioneer in the Lushai Hills gained such an influence over the people that forty years after his departure he was spoken of as the greatest of the sahibs, yet lesser men, who tried to imitate him in his free and easy fellowship with those he had to govern failed miserably. Let a man be honest, straightforward and sympathetic, not easily excited, but patient and persevering and ready to learn, anxious really to know the folk he has to govern, and he will find that they will respond and gradually learn to trust and love him.

It is, of course, most important to get as many of his subjects to co-operate with him as possible. Let him

begin with the Chiefs or village Elders, or Priests, whoever are the acknowledged leaders. Let him be very careful not to undermine their authority. Their rule and administration of justice may be rough and not quite according to our ideas, but the people have been accustomed to it, and let him meditate seriously over the problem of governing without these recognized rulers. He and his few assistants, with all the will in the world, will never be able to cope with the work unaided. You may think that it will be easy to avoid interfering. I can assure you it will be difficult, almost the most difficult task in governing such tribes is to ensure to the individual a reasonable amount of justice, without utterly ruining the prestige of the native rulers. These rulers, be they chiefs or elders, will feel, coming under our rule more than anyone else, however gently they are treated, their position must suffer to some extent. Before, they were probably autocrats to a very considerable extent, this they no longer can be. It is only natural that they should feel the change acutely, especially the older and more influential among them. There will probably be some old and obstinate irreconcilables with whom nothing can be done, but with patience, by sympathetic and tactful handling, the majority of the chiefs may be won over. Some compensations may be found for their lost autocratic powers, and though it will be long before they cease occasionally to bemoan the departure of the good old days, yet they will see the wisdom of abstaining from opposition and should gradually become useful assistants in the governing of the country, and their value cannot be overestimated.

In the administration of justice our young friend must beware of introducing any legal procedure, pleaders, vakils and such like must on no account be admitted into his district. If he finds that any of the folk he has to govern really believe that the swearing of a false oath will bring down on them God's wrath, surely he will be wise to make full use of this belief, and if he finds that a section has faith

in an ordeal, he will be unwise to discredit it. Let me give you instances :

My friend the Hon. Mr. W. J. Reid, now Commissioner of the Assam Valley, when he was in charge of the Naga Hills, had a complaint laid before him by the Elders of a certain village that they suspected that men of a neighbouring village had stolen their cattle ; they had no proof, but they asked him to call on the Elders of the suspected village to swear on the lives of the whole village that no one had stolen the cattle. These Elders, on being told of the accusation, returned home and took an oath of each householder on the lives of his household that none of them had stolen the cattle ; and having done this, they came back and in the presence of their accusers, with all due solemnity swore the necessary oath, whereupon their defamers paid up the customary fine and the case was apparently over ; but after a very short time the victorious elders returned with woebegone countenances and reported that three men having died in their village, they knew that someone had sworn falsely, and finally three men had confessed to the theft. They now tendered four animals for each of those stolen and demanded permission to expel the thieves from the village, not for being thieves, mind you, but for having sworn a false oath. The three men were taken to the village boundary and driven over with only a cloth apiece ; wives, children, houses, land and all they possessed were forfeited, and if they ever recrossed the boundary they were to be liable to imprisonment. In old days they would have been liable to death. In that particular only did Mr. Reid deviate from the tribal custom.

Once, just as the complainant was about to take an oath before me on the lives of all his family, the latter forcibly withdrew the case and the complainant, saying they refused to have their lives risked.

A curious scene comes to my memory. The sun has just risen, and it is bitterly cold ; we are grouped round the sides of a deepish pool in a small river ; two men stark



naked are standing shivering in the water. On a big stone where the two shivering mortals can see him, stands a young British officer with his hat raised. The shivering ones are heroes in their own way: they are the head men of two villages who are about to uphold the claims of their rival villages to certain lands by the ordeal of diving. One is an expert swimmer, the other, as he plaintively explains, hates water. "Is your claim just?" asks the young officer. "Certainly," replies the poor unwilling diver. "Then fear nothing. God will protect you," is the cheering reply. As the sahib's hat goes down both head men duck under the water. The expert vain in his own strength swims about below the surface while the other squats down and grasps a huge boulder. The water is so clear that every movement is apparent. In a very short time pride has a fall: a considerable portion of the swimmer's body emerges, and with a yell his opponents claim the verdict and rush into the water, whence they drag their nearly exhausted champion. 'I told you God would protect you,' says the sahib, "and you see He did." Such methods of settling cases may not be in accordance with High Court rulings, and they certainly do not make the legal profession a paying one; on the other hand, they are approved of by the people, and they do not encourage or tempt people to lie. Where such customs do not exist or in cases unsuitable for such methods of adjustment, a magistrate must trust to his common sense, he must not be hampered by any rules of procedure, and let us hope that should any sentence of his be appealed against, the officer disposing of the appeal will remember that the opinion of one who knows the people he has to deal with, and who has heard the evidence and seen the witnesses, should never be overridden because the standard of proof may not be up to that insisted on by a High Court. The effect of the release, by order of some superior power, of a criminal, whom all know to have been justly convicted, is most prejudicial to

the prestige of the local officers, and greatly increases their already difficult task

Besides the customs connected with the administration of justice, our young governor will find many others of which at first sight he cannot approve, but let him not be in a hurry to attempt to alter them. Let him remember that they have grown up gradually, and the fact that they exist is *prima facie* evidence that they are suitable to the conditions and the stage of development which his people have reached. The more extraordinary a custom appears to him the more carefully should he study it from all points of view, and the more carefully should he observe its working before interfering with it. He will often find that there are many safety valves which effectively prevent evil resulting from a custom which at first he may think very objectionable. If after due consideration he decides that a change must be made he will be wise to remember that there are other ways of killing a wasp than sitting on it. Much depends on how he proceeds and his success or failure will depend on the degree to which he has learnt to understand his people.

The number of subjects which early force themselves into prominence is too great to be dealt with in this paper. One of the first to be tackled is communications. A good system of roads with rest camps at convenient distances is absolutely necessary and will go far towards settling the district. A well-laid out headquarter station too, is important laid out with a view to possible expansion and carried out in such a way as to impress the natives with the idea of the permanency of his sojourn, for the notion that the foreigners will soon retire dies hard and till it is dead he will find it a great obstacle to progress. For roads and buildings labour will be needed and must be got as much as possible locally. Probably at first it will have to be impressed. So many days labour a year from each house will be one of the terms to which every village must agree. Impressment of labour is open to objection but in many

cases it is unavoidable, and it has its uses. And it must be remembered that such a district as I am dealing with brings in practically no revenue, and has been occupied at a great financial loss solely because its inhabitants have refused to abstain from raiding the adjoining settled districts. It is therefore only just to make the natives, as far as they can, supply the necessary labour, etc., so as to keep down the cost of the administration, which has to be met out of taxes levied on the settled districts. While insisting on the supply of labour and of rice for his garrisons, a wise ruler will take every possible precaution to avoid the system being abused and do all in his power to make it as little irksome as possible. He must look into every detail, and punish very severely anyone guilty of oppression or extortion. Let him always remember that in the eyes of his people he only is responsible, and that if corruption and extortion and oppression thrive they put him down either as a knave for winking at it, or a fool for not detecting it.

Education should be thought of early. Here again beware of theories, and stick to facts. Let nothing be taught which is not useful. A sound system of translation of the local tongue is a *sine qua non*. For some time reading and writing and simple arithmetic should suffice. Better many such schools than one school devoted to turning out over educated, bumptious youngsters, too proud to work, a curse to themselves and everybody.

The question of the admission of missionaries will soon crop up. Good sensible missionaries are of great value but they should not be given assistance by Government. In their own interests they must be left to make their own way with the people, when the people realize that these *sahibs* are not connected with Government they will be much more inclined to confide in them. A Government officer, however much he may gain the love and respect of his people, remains a ruler, one whose duty it is to punish offenders and to exact Government dues, whereas wise

missionaries may earn the title of "The Natives' Sahib," as they have done in the Lushai Hills. Once established they will naturally take the lead in educational matters, and when the time comes for something more than the simple schools of early days they will be ready to start them, so that the district may be self-supporting in the matter of clerks and minor officials in all departments, and specially capable youths may be sent to colleges to qualify for higher posts. A school for the sons of chiefs may soon be necessary, but care must be taken that the students are not unfitted for the posts they are destined to occupy, by over-education and pampering.

Technical education should be started at once, not by founding an expensively equipped school in which theoretical instruction forms a big feature in the curriculum, but by placing likely lads in the District Engineer's workshops and giving the head carpenters, smiths, and stone masons small bonuses for instructing them.

You may smile when I suggest a newspaper as a necessary aid to civilization, but I found it very useful. In the first place, reading matter in the local language will always be scanty, and at first almost non-existent, therefore a monthly paper is sure to be read by the few scholars in each village. A tale or two, all the local news, reports of any cases which it is thought may be useful as examples, any orders the Superintendent may wish widely known, will be found to provide quite enough copy.

The medical officer and his assistants must be pressed into the service of civilizing the wild folk. A sympathetic and competent doctor babu at a distant outpost will do much towards establishing friendly relations with the people, and a clever surgeon has unlimited opportunities of relieving pain and helping to reconcile the savage to the occupation of his country. Of course, as in every other branch, the customs of the people must be studied.

At Aijal, with a view to the impending visit of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, our M.O. laboured

hard to get a female ward added to his hospital. It was finished just in time, and all the ladies were duly placed therein on the morning of the inspection, but the great man's back was hardly turned before they were all back in their old quarters with the men. "We don't have separate rooms in our own houses. What can the Doctor sahib mean by trying to keep us separate here?" said the ladies.

The difficulty of getting the people to believe in the permanency of our stay has already been referred to. Another point on which it is difficult to convince these simple and at the same time shrewd folk is that their sahib and the sahib ruling the next district are servants of the same King. When that great man Sir Bretram Carey, who died alas! a short time ago came over from the Northern Chin Hills to assist me in quelling my rebellious Lushais, one of my loyal chiefs asked me casually whether Carey and I came from the same village. Not quite appreciating the reason which prompted the question, I said, "No our homes are some distance apart." Another Chief then said to my questioner, "You see I was right. It is as with us, each sahib has a village of his own. Our sahib and the Burma sahib are friends this year, but next year they may quarrel, and then they will not help each other." Here in London such a remark only sounds stupid, but it expresses a very common belief among wild folk who come in contact with us for the first time. They are very observant, and being themselves rigid followers of tribal customs, they attribute any differences they observe in the habits, modes of dress, or procedure of different officers to their belonging to different tribes. And this notion is all the more natural when, as in the Chin Lushai Hills, two adjoining districts are under different Governments. It is important to impress on the people the unity of purpose of all Government officers, and too much stress cannot be laid on constant meetings of officers of adjoining districts. At these meetings all disputes between persons on opposite sides of the border should be settled in open

court, the two officers sitting together. The chiefs or head men of one district should be introduced to the officer in charge of the other, and be suitably entertained, so that they may go away with the notion that the sahibs are really brothers who will always support each other. These wild folk are very astute, and will always play off one officer against another if they can. One of the chief offenders, to punish whom General Tregear's column was sent from Chittagong in 1889, was known there as Jahuta. This astute individual went to meet General Symons, who was coming from Burma, with presents and offers of submission and promises of loyalty, and for a time seemed likely to escape his well-merited punishment, as General Symons did not know that the obliging and friendly Jahwit was the same as Jahuta the raider into Chittagong territory.

I need hardly say that such districts as I am dealing with cannot be governed from an office chair at Headquarters. Every part of the district must be visited at least once a year. As far as possible cases must be settled on the spot and in the village of the defendant. This is important. All these folks are litigious, and the temptation to prefer frivolous complaints will be lessened if the complainant has to trudge to the village of the defendant to get his complaint inquired into.

A matter for very serious consideration is the provision of outlets for the energies of the people. You cannot expect a community of enterprising head hunters suddenly to change into smug agriculturists, but the Khonoma men, who fought the hardest of all the Naga tribes, and the Siyins, who held out so long in the Chin Hills, have developed into enterprising traders, travelling right across India in search of particular beads, etc., to sell which they tramp from village to village throughout the hills. A son of a Lakher chief obtained a cross-cut saw through the kindness of Mr Whalley, at that time Subdivisional Officer at Lungleh, and amassed quite a fortune, being able to supply planks with profit to himself at rates which

revolutionized the local market. Encouraged by my versatile friend Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, the Lushais have embarked on potato cultivation and poultry farming, much to their advantage. To make people anxious to work you must show them the value of money by bringing articles which they want within their reach, especially within the reach of the ladies of the community; therefore, shop-keepers should be encouraged and assisted to establish themselves at all your posts, but on the money-lender you must keep a very tight hold.

Before I close, I venture to say a few words regarding the duty of Government to these backward districts. As I have inculcated sympathetic treatment of his subjects by the District Officer, so I plead for kind treatment of him by the powers that be; and speaking from my own experience, I can say that he generally gets it. The life of an officer in one of these frontier districts is not a very easy one, especially in the early days, and he has many difficulties that can hardly be appreciated by those at Headquarters; therefore, I plead he should not be too strictly dealt with for errors of procedure or for occasional errors of judgment, provided only that his heart has been right. Also I plead that he be not burdened with correspondence or called on to justify everything he does. Let him know clearly the general lines on which you wish him to administer his charge, and then leave him a free hand as to details, and above all do not weaken his hands by reversing his decisions, unless they are obviously wrong and the matter is serious. If you cannot trust him, have him out of the billet at once, but do not move your frontier officers more often than you can help, and always remember that personality counts more in these districts than cleverness and knowledge of codes.

As regards money, it is false economy to starve a new district in the matter of roads and buildings. Good roads and buildings save lives in a bad climate, and facilitate administration and control. It is sometimes argued that

in taking over one of these wild tracts, we should be content to police it, without making any attempt to develop it or civilize the people, which are expensive operations. Such a policy, however, is radically unsound, and involves the permanent retention of a large garrison, to overawe the warlike savages, whom a more broad-minded policy would have converted into peaceable, easily controlled folk.

It is unwise to introduce Departmental control too soon as it means binding the hands of the local officers with cords of regulations. For years it is best to leave them free, let them gradually, by working in the spirit while disregarding the letter of rules and regulations, accustom their people to wearing the yoke of civilization, so that their necks may not be galled.

Continuity of policy is all important, therefore do not change your officers till a firm foundation has been laid and should the permanent incumbent have to go on leave do not allow his *locum tenens* to alter his system. Nothing unsettles a new district so much as constant changes in procedure. Unfortunately, the hill districts are a *cul-de-sac* as regards promotions to the higher offices, and therefore an ambitious man must seek a transfer in due course, but even if he climbs very high up the ladder of official promotion I am sure that he will always look back on those early years among his wild folk as the happiest in his life, when each morning brought its surprise, pleasant or the reverse, and his days were crowded with fresh interests and new problems, when he first tasted the dangerous delights of responsibility and power.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, December 15, at the Lincolnshire Room, 7A, Tothill Street, Westminster, at which a paper was read by Lieut Colonel John Shakespear, C M G, C I E, D S O, entitled "Reflections on the Government of Wild Tribes of the North Eastern Frontier of India." Sir J Bampfylde Fuller, K C S I, C I E, occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Frank C Gates, K C I E, C S I, Sir C Sankaran Nair, C I E, Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr P C Lyon, C S I, C I E, and Mrs Lyon, T H S Biddulph, C I E, and Mrs Biddulph, Mr C E Buckland, C I E, Mr A Porteous C I F, Sardar Khan Bahadur Rustom J Vakil, I S O, Lady Katharine Stuart, Mrs Hope Shakespear, Mr T C Goswami, Miss Webster, Mrs and Miss Shakespear, Miss Vertue, Major Wilkins, Mr Gerald Ritchie and Mrs Ritchie, Mrs Edward Ritchie, The Rev Dr Durham, Mr M C Chagla, Mr S S. Gnana Viran, Mr J B Pennington, Mr John C Nicholson, Mr G Owen Dunn, Colonel and Mrs A S Roberts, Mr. R Grant Brown, Miss Horne, The Miss Sorabjee, Miss Sykes, Miss Swainson, Mr F C Channing, Mr W Kerr, Mr R W Kettle, Mr E B Havell, Mrs Gaussen, Mrs Haigh, Mr G M Ryan, Mr M Houghton, Mr D I Patwardhan, Mrs Collis, Mr E S Bates, The Rev W L Broadbent, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the Lecturer, said that Colonel Shakespear was a specialist in the governing of wild tribes, having spent many years in ruling them, with very great success. Years ago he had had the pleasure of working in collaboration with the Lecturer in Assam—a province surrounded by wild tribes—and he could safely say that in the semi-political semi-administrative work involved in the control of tribal areas Colonel Shakespear was surpassed by none. If he were asked for the secret of Colonel Shakespear's success he would say it was because, behind a mild—and indeed, a gentle—demeanour, he concealed an inflexible purpose, in fact he had the iron hand in the velvet glove, the hand of the successful colonel, the successful schoolmaster and of him who successfully drove a young and skittish horse.

The wild tribes upon which the Lecturer was to address them were almost his own discovery, he was one of the earliest Englishmen to become resident in their hills, and the Lushai Hills district might practically be called Shakespear land, for it might be said without much exaggeration that he had created it. When he first went up into that tangle of bamboo covered hills there was little except a few scattered villages, but before he left he had made roads, established schools, and created a headquarters.

station in the middle of the jungle—a miracle of neatness, with an excellent polo ground. The wild tribes of Assam contributed several labour battalions to the service of the war. Colonel Shakespeare himself sought active service, and added to his many distinctions the melancholy one of appearing before them that evening on crutches. He had great pleasure in calling upon Colonel Shakespeare to speak for himself. (Hear, hear.)

The lecture was then read, and received with loud applause.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I see on the agenda paper "The Chairman now addresses the meeting." I wish he had not to, for I should like first of all to hear what others have to say. I hope there will be some discussion on the paper. Our first thought will be that we have been listening not to an essay but an autobiography. Colonel Shakespeare's notes are of difficulties he has met and the feelings he has felt during many years when he presided over the Lushai Hills district, a district of which he himself was practically the master. It is not given to many Englishmen to be able to look at an area on the map surrounded by a line of colour and feel that 'I made that,' but this is a feeling which Colonel Shakespeare may experience. (Hear, hear.) He went amongst the Lushais when they were what are vulgarly called "savages." That is to say, they had a different code of morality from our own: with them homicide was a means of winning distinction. It is an extremely difficult thing to get people to change their methods of achieving honour. They cling to their ideals, however inconvenient. I learnt, myself, in dealing with the tribesmen of the Naga Hills, how hard it is to get people to realize that there were other means of winning pride than that of taking heads. I was amused one day, in visiting a chief to find that he had compromised on the question. Interdicted from taking heads, he had collected a number of pumpkins which with some splashes of colour served to decorate his house front in the traditional fashion. He was quite proud of them.

Coming to these tribesmen from the outside—from other parts of India—I was particularly struck with their great intelligence. We call them "wild tribes" with a vague idea that they are monkey-like. Far from it. They reason extremely well, and are by no means slow in learning. One of the largest villages in the Naga Hills had, many years ago, rebelled, and there were disturbances which led to military action. The magistrate of the district was killed. It was necessary to give the people a severe lesson, and amongst other things the Government decided to locate a small fort in the village. It so happened that when the fort was laid out, it included part of the village cemetery, since this occupied the crest of the hill on which the fort had to be placed. This hurt the villagers' feelings very greatly; it was a constant thorn in their side, and whenever I visited the district a deputation presented itself, praying me to have the fort dismantled and its guard removed from the village. I thought that, as a matter of fact, the time had come for its withdrawal, but not liking to make the concession without demanding something in return which would show that it was not made in weakness, I told them half in jest that

I would take the fort away as soon as a dozen children in their village could do a sum in compound long division! "What is that?" they asked. I told them that it was arithmetic. "Very well," they said, "but you must send us a schoolmaster", and they were quite contented when I promised to do so. Two years later, on a visit to the village, I inspected the school, and found twelve children who had learnt enough in this time to qualify as propitiation, so I did my part. In truth, these hill people are clever enough, but we do not appreciate their cleverness because it runs on in an imaginative line. To govern them successfully you must be imaginative also, you must, so to speak, get back into the Bible. They think in Biblical fashion, and the judgments which they appreciate are such as those of Solomon. Colonel Shakespear's anecdote about ordeal by diving sounds absurd, but it represents ideas that have influenced ancient history very profoundly. To illustrate their point of view, I will relate another experience of my own. Making a visit one day to a tea planter, who was exceedingly successful in the management of his labour force, I found him paying his coolies, sitting at a table in the tea garden by the side of a tank. I noticed that from time to time, before paying a coolie, he took two or three annas from his wages, and threw them into the water. I naturally asked him why he did this. "They are fines," he said, "for non-attendance or idleness." "But why," I asked, "throw them into the tank?" "Because," he replied, "they must not think that I profit by fining them or want their money. It was what the French call *"un beau geste"*."

Shortly after that troubles arose with some tribesmen on the northern Assam frontier. An Englishman, who was expert in elephant catching, had illegally crossed their boundary in search of elephants, and had camped well within their territory without taking the precaution of "squaring" the chief. They raided his camp one night, burnt one of his tents, and looted his camp kit. The Englishman made a complaint to me, and I went into the case. He was clearly to blame—and much to blame—for crossing the boundary, but the tribesmen had also acted very wrongly in taking the law into their own hands instead of seeking justice from the Government. I was in a difficulty, but I remembered the lesson I had learnt from the tea planter. I fined the elephant hunter five hundred rupees, and I asked the District Magistrate to summon the tribesmen to meet him on a cliff which overhung the river Subansin, on their border, to explain to them that they had been wronged by the Englishman who crossed their border, but, on the other hand, that they had behaved very badly themselves in offering violence instead of complaining to me of the occurrence. The Englishman had been fined, and, had they complained to me, the money would have been given them in compensation. The five hundred rupees was then to be shown to them, and thrown into the river. This was done, and I had no more trouble whatever with these people. Indeed, I was told that they spent the whole of their time ineffectually diving for the money. *This illustrates what they understand and respect.* To ordinary civilized English people a procedure such as this smacks of Ali Baba.

or the pantomime, but to an imaginative mind it is seriously impressive. If you are picturesque, you will convince them ; if you are conventional, you will not. (Hear, hear)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I invite discussion, and I hope that some contributions to the subject will come from amongst you

Lady KATHARINE STUART said she would like to say how very greatly she had enjoyed the Lecturer's account of the wild tribes. It had, however, occurred to her to wonder whether, looking at the thing from the tribes' point of view, they were being asked to accept something they did not understand and from which they accordingly shrank. Indians had said things to her which led her to think that that was, in part, their attitude of mind towards Western civilization. She thought it a splendid idea put forward in the lecture and also by the chairman to hold out knowledge as an inducement to them to *civilize themselves*. If you saw two children pursuing one another and approaching a precipice you would not advance towards them in a menacing manner, you would seek to allure them away from the danger by a counter attraction. Christianity when practised in all the beauty of holiness could offer such a counter attraction. The "excellence of the knowledge of Christ Jesus,

"Who taught mankind on that first Christmas Day  
What 'twas to be a Man to give, not take,  
To serve, not rule, to nourish, not devour,  
To help, not crush, if need, to die, not live"

These wild tribes were child intelligences, and if the Apostle said, "To the weak became I as weak that I might gain the weak," might we not apply the principle and become a child in order to gain the children—take part in what to us was "a pretty play" and so forth? Our civilization was very imperfect, there was still a good deal of fear mingled with the love; but we were told to "be perfect," and therefore the perfect love that casteth out fear was the ideal at which to aim—we must not be satisfied to come short of it. That "civilization perfected is fully developed Christianity" is the whole truth in the judgment of the poet.

The Society of Friends had dealt faithfully with wild tribes according to the Christian ideal and with great success, according to our faith it should be unto us. Human nature was a nobler thing than we took it to be perhaps, and would respond to nobleness on the part of the Western brother. God had manifested Himself to us in the form of a servant, a physician, a shepherd, a carpenter, and we could, without loss of prestige perhaps, become less the governors and more the servants of those we desired to see "lifted up for ever."

She felt how much Colonel Shakespear had done in that direction and what a blessing he must have been to those people. She hoped progress would continue.

Mr. CHANNING said that as speakers did not seem very numerous, although his service in India was in a very different part, he would like to say a few words. He had been greatly interested in the lecture, and very much struck by the thorough sound sense of the recommendations

made The particular subject he would like to speak of was that of ordeal Some of those present who had never studied the English criminal law perhaps did not know that ordeal was not a matter solely confined to the East, but was an old method of settling criminal cases in England, and it was only about one hundred years ago that this method of deciding criminal cases was finally abolished by Act of Parliament. Ordeal was not an incident of prosecutions by the Crown against the accused, but of a charge brought by the person injured or his heir He had, himself, had to decide cases by ordeal Some forty five years ago, when he was a Settlement Officer, there was a boundary dispute between his district and a native state where the boundary had never been settled, it was marked as disputed in the old maps He and the political officer of the state spent a long time over the matter, but could not come to any decision As it was getting dark one of the natives from one village said if a particular man of the other village would take the image of the god in one hand and a bottle of Ganges water in the other and would walk from one undisputed boundary mark to the other, they would accept that boundary It was a very serious thing for the man who had to walk the boundary, as, if a cow or a son of his should happen to die it would be considered a punishment from above, but he accepted It was getting dark but they got torches and they walked along the top of a rocky hill behind the accepted referee and in that way they settled the boundary, and there was never any dispute about it There is a story that Sir Henry Lawrence, as a young man, in another case where there never had been a boundary fixed decided it in this way Each side chose a man, the right leg of one was tied to the left leg of the other and they started off They had to get to another pillar, and whatever line they took that was the boundary As a matter of fact in that kind of dispute it was far more satisfactory to the people to decide things in that way (Hear, hear)

The CHAIRMAN I will now ask the Lecturer to say a few words in reply.

The LECTURER in reply said I am glad to say there are not many criticisms to answer Regarding the remarks of Lady Katharine Stuart, I quite agree with all she says, but it is hardly the place of the Governor to be a missionary, and, as I have said, the best thing you can do for the missionaries is to give them a fair field and no favour If you support the missionaries, so that it looks as if they are your men, you take away half their appeal to the people (Hear, hear) I have had cases of missionaries who were sent up with the forces of the State behind them and plumped down in the village, where the people were ordered to send so many children to the school They sent the children to school, but they sent nothing else, and not a soul would go near him With us missionaries were told, "You come up and the Government will protect your life and property, but nothing else" In one case they sat for six weeks on the banks of a river waiting till they could get someone to volunteer to carry their loads up to the top of the hill Nevertheless the Deputy Commissioner said No, I am afraid I cannot help you, you must get up

yourselves. Eventually they got there, and managed to get a house built. Then there came up the question of their going out to visit, and they said, "Cannot you help us?" and I said, "No, I am afraid I cannot, you had better stay where you are till someone asks you." As a matter of fact, they had amongst their possessions a magic lantern, and one day were giving an entertainment, and a young chief from an adjacent village came in and saw this magic lantern, and he said "Why do you not show this in my village?" They said "How are we to get there?" He replied "There are twenty young men there, come along to-morrow," and out they went, and the fame of this chief who had a magic lantern in his own village was so great that the next day they were carried off somewhere else, and once the narrow edge of the wedge was in they were welcomed all through the hills, and were perpetually touring. The best thing the Government can do is to protect the missionary and give him a fair chance, but not to let it be supposed that he is their man, so as to give no excuse to the people for thinking they are compelled to be Christians. That British rule is not objectionable to the people, may I quote an incident about Sir Bampfylde. At a great Durbar he had in the Naga Hills, when there were some fifteen hundred wild men, dressed up in their war paint, dancing round, at the end of it three miserable creatures were dragged forward and threw themselves down on the ground and embraced Sir Bampfylde's feet. Those men were not appealing for justice, but they simply wanted to know what crime they had done that when a large number of neighbouring villages had been taken under Sir Bampfylde's rule they had not been included. They were beyond the border, and had not been included, and came and besought Sir Bampfylde to be included. (Hear, hear.)

Sir Bampfylde gave me the credit of the formation of the Station Headquarters, but I do not claim that credit. That is entirely due to Lieut-Colonel G. H. Loch. He was an engineer by inclination, and happened to become a soldier, and he was sent there as Commandant of military police, and he went there and found the place a ridge of hills fairly well cleared, and with nothing but timber houses built, and the actual jungle that grew there. Most of it was tea trees. He was, as I say, an engineer and builder, and he said "Why do not we have stone houses?" and Mr. Davies, who had been in the Naga Hills, said "Why, we have not got stone houses yet where we have been for ten years." Colonel Loch said "More disgrace to you," and set to work to build himself a stone house. He then went to the Government and said "May I build a stone barracks? I will sell this house to the Government for what it cost me, 6,000 rupees, or for whatever your man says it is worth." P. W. D. measured it up and said it was worth 7,000, but the Government only gave him 6,000. Then he got permission to start, and, with such sepoys as he could teach, he built the whole of the station in solid stone. He was the only man I have ever known who managed to get sepoys to work willingly. He had a most wonderful system of each man doing a certain amount of work. On Saturday everyone did eight hours' digging or building, whatever it was, and as he came home one day he said "You

know, I think I am a very good man. If you notice, Saturday is always fine, and now there are 800 beggars here praying for a wet day, and I am the only one praying for fine weather." The polo ground which has been mentioned was originally a ridge or spur running out from the main hill, and this was the married quarters. They were much too near to the bachelors' quarters, so Colonel Loch said, "Away with them!" and he put them right away on to another branch of the hill, and he cut this big spur down, and when he had finished he had 150 feet of filling on one side, and 50 feet of sheer cutting on the other side, and it cost the Government nothing. As a matter of fact, he did it out of the canteen funds, because the men worked hard all day and got so thirsty and then went and satisfied their thirst, and the profits of the canteen went into the parade ground.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you all for the kind way in which you have received my lecture. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr GERALD RITCHIE said it gave him very great pleasure to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Shakspear for the statesmanlike and wise paper that he had just read. (Hear, hear.) He was not going to discuss the paper, but he wished to say a few words of a personal character, for which he hoped he would be excused. He desired to refer to Colonel Shakspear's father, Sir Richmond Shakspear. It often happened that Anglo Indians were oblivious of the services of those who had gone before them, and he thought this was a good opportunity of recalling to their memories the services that Sir Richmond rendered to India. Sir Richmond was well known for having made perhaps as momentous a journey as was ever recorded in Indian history, from Khiva to Orenburg in Russia in 1840 taking back with him 416 Russian subjects to be restored to Russia. That wonderful journey has been recorded in an article in *Blackwood* (June, 1842), which he was not aware had ever been reproduced, but it was well worth reading. When he reached Orenburg he went to St. Petersburg, and received the thanks of the Czar and then came to London, when Lord Palmerston wrote to him and offered him a knighthood, which he accepted. He was about the youngest lieutenant of the Bengal Artillery who had ever had that distinction. Then Sir Richmond was General Pollock's assistant during the Afghan War, and in the little book that he held in his hand there was a grateful letter, dated Cabool, September 24, 1842, from Lady Sale, Sir Vincent Lyte, and many others of the captives, declaring their profound recognition of Sir Richmond's efforts on their behalf. He was not going to go through all Sir Richmond's great career, but he wanted to read what William Makepeace Thackeray, his first cousin, said about him. Thackeray, in his article "On Lett's Diary" in the *Roundabout Papers*, wrote the following words, which, if they would allow him, he would like to quote

"And now, brethren, may I conclude this discourse with an extract out of that great diary, the newspaper? I read it but yesterday, and it has mingled with all my thoughts since then. Here are the two paragraphs, which appeared following each other

"Mr R., the Advocate-General of Calcutta, has been appointed

to the post of Legislative Member of the Council of the Governor General'

"Sir R. S., Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, died on the 29th of October, of bronchitis'

"These two men, whose different fates are recorded in two paragraphs and half a dozen lines of the same newspaper, were sisters' sons. In one of the stories by the present writer, a man is described tottering 'up the steps of the ghaut,' having parted with his child, whom he is despatching to England from India. I wrote this, remembering in long, long distant days such a ghaut or river stair at Calcutta, and a day when, down those steps, to a boat which was in waiting, came two children, whose mothers remained on the shore. One of those ladies was never to see her boy more, and he, too, is just dead in India, 'Of bronchitis, on the 29th October', and the first house in London to which I was taken was that of our aunt, the mother of his Honour, the Member of Council. His Honour was even then a gentleman of the long robe, being, in truth, a baby in arms'. We Indian children were consigned to a school of which our deluded parents had heard a favourable report, but which was governed by a horrible little tyrant, who made our young lives so miserable that I remember kneeling by my little bed of a night and saying, 'Pray God I may dream of my mother'. Thence we went to a public school, and my cousin to Addiscombe and to India. 'For thirty-two years,' the paper says, 'Sir Richmond Shakespear faithfully and devotedly served the Government of India and during that period but once visited England for a few months and on public duty. In his military capacity he saw much service' was present in eight general engagements, and was badly wounded in the last. In 1840, when a young lieutenant, he had the rare good fortune to be the means of rescuing from almost hopeless slavery in Khiva 416 subjects of the Emperor of Russia, and, but two years later, greatly contributed to the happy recovery of our own prisoners from a similar fate in Cabul. Throughout his career this officer was ready and zealous for the public service, and freely risked life and liberty in the discharge of his duties. Lord Canning, to mark his high sense of Sir Richmond Shakespear's public services had lately offered him the Chief Commissionership of Mysore, which he had accepted, and was about to undertake, when death terminated his career.

"When he came to London the cousins and playfellows of early Indian days met once again, and shook hands. 'Can I do anything for you?' I remember the kind fellow asking. He was always asking that question of all kinsmen, of all widows and orphans, of all the poor, of young men who might need his purse or his service. I saw a young officer yesterday to whom the first words Sir Richmond Shakespear wrote on his arrival in India were 'Can I do anything for you? His purse was at the command of all. His kind hand was always open. It was a gracious fate which sent him to rescue widows and captives. Where could they have had a champion more chivalrous, a protector more loving and tender?'

"I write down his name in my little book, amongst those of others dearly loved who, too, have been summoned hence. And so we meet and part, we struggle and succeed, or we fail and drop unknown on the way. As we leave the fond mother's knee, the rough trials of childhood and boyhood begin, and then manhood is upon us, and the battle of life, with its chances, perils, wounds, defeat, distinctions. And Fort William guns are saluting in one man's honour, while the troops are firing the last volleys over the other's grave—over the grave of the brave, the gentle, the faithful Christian soldier."



That was the true description of Sir Richmond Shakespear. With regard to his son, my cousin, whom he had known for a very long time, he first knew him when he went out to India in the Canadian Regiment. He afterwards started on the career which Sir Bampfylde Fuller had described, and which he need not go through again. The last time he saw him he was in hospital, and he wished to congratulate him on being out and about again. Many of them, old civilians, wished they could have been in the ranks of those people long past the age of service, who had served, as Colonel Shakespear did, during the late war. (Hear, hear.) They could all congratulate themselves that he had been able to come forward and read them such an excellent paper. He was a chip of the old block. He and his father before him had advanced the prestige of the Indian administrator.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, now I come to the last thing on the agenda, "The chairman closing the meeting and I beg to close it."

The proceedings then terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding.

The following note has been received from Colonel Shakespear:

"Sir Bampfylde Fuller, in his remarks after the reading of my paper on 15th inst., gave me all the credit of subduing and civilizing the Lushais. I regret that I did not in my remarks after the discussion point out that, though as regards the South Lushai Hills I may fairly claim to have done the bulk of the work, as regards the Northern Hills the subjugation had been completed before I was sent there. The work done by Captain Brown, the first Political Officer—who was killed there—by the great McCabe by the late Mr Davis and by Mr Porteous had overcome all resistance and when I took over in 1897 the combined North and South Lushai Hills I had only to concern myself with problems of development. I would not like to be considered ungrateful to those the fruits of whose labours I was privileged to reap."

## THE FRIENDS OF INDIA, WISE AND OTHERWISE

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

MEMBERS of the East India Association will know that I have been announced to speak on "India and her Friends" for nearly two years, and I have hitherto refrained, hoping someone else would raise a protesting voice against the unwise, and leave me free to speak only of the wise friends of India, many of whom are to be found in this Association of which I have the honour to be a member, and without whose guidance and counsel I could not have carried on the work of editing the *ASIATIC REVIEW* during its Editor's absence in khaki. He is now back at his post again, but I have gladly accepted the invitation to remain on the editorial committee, and here and now I desire to thank all those who bore with my unaccustomed but gladly rendered service during a stressful period. Especially do I thank Mr. Leitner, Dr. Pollen, and Mr. Pennington.

I do not apologize for the lack of form in this paper (it is not a literary effort), nor for its lengthy quotations, necessitated by its very nature and object, that of dotting a few I's and crossing a few T's for certain perverse folk who are always reversing the process.

### PART I

It has been my good fortune to come into touch with many of the social leaders and reformers of the day. Two of the most ardent have also been friends of India, working for what they no doubt believe to be the best interests of that country. Yet I am bound to regard them as typical examples of the unwise friend.

I allude to Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the Father of British

Socialism, the veteran lecturer, writer and reformer, and to Mrs Besant, the successor of Madame Blavatsky, and one of the foremost of women orators. Neither one nor the other will attribute to me any personal motive for directing attention to the statements both have been, and are, making in the press and on the platform.

I will pass over the tragic years of the war, I will draw a veil over the effect produced on the international mind by such statements how they formed a target for cleverly timed, well-directed attacks upon British honour, British integrity, British good faith. How at national and international congresses my lack of statistic and economic facts kept me speechless during such broadsides, and paralyzed action in what was at times an almost single-handed conflict against the enemies of the sacred cause of true liberty and democratic freedom. And when I was furnished with the necessary truth to meet the untruth, a hearing was invariably refused by those very people who claimed to stand for the rights of minorities and of free speech.

You will believe me that it is with no light heart that I criticize thus a personal and esteemed friend like Mr Hyndman whose services during the war have been invaluable, and whose knowledge of transport and shipping, if put to use, might have saved the country millions. But after his eloquence at Northampton\* carried the resolution in favour of the "emancipation" of India, involving the speedy exit of all 'carpet-baggers and sun-dried bureaucrats,' I can hesitate no longer, because these misstatements and distortions give a handle to those reactionary forces which would delay the progress of much-needed reform in India.

That I may not do Mr Hyndman injustice, I will confine myself to statements taken from his article "British Misrule in India," published in *Justice*, August 14, 1919, or other writings.

\* National Socialist Congress, August, 1919

These so-called friends of India are saying, in so many words, that "not even the crimes of which Prussianized Germany has been guilty transcend in infamy the cold economic and social ruin which we ourselves *deliberately* inflict upon the inhabitants of the vast Empire of Hindustan" ("British Misrule in India," *Justice*, August 14 1919)

No one at all familiar with the history of British India would deny that our record is stained with many a deed that might not unfairly be called "infamous", but the question of importance here is whether we have "deliberately brought economic and social ruin on its inhabitants" (The word 'deliberately' must I suppose, mean of malice aforethought, yet even Mr Hyndman could hardly mean that)

Is it even true that we have inflicted 'economic and social ruin' on the inhabitants of British India, deliberately or otherwise? Mr Hyndman has, as he says, been pointing this out for more than forty years, and repeats that we have been

'draining out of British India each year an amount equal to *considerably more than* £30,000 000 without commercial return',

and this from a country whose

"agricultural population is already so poor that its *annual* production does not exceed 15s a head'

"No matter, he proceeds, "what benefits we might confer in other directions (and having studied the subject carefully for nearly fifty years, he can detect extremely few), this drain of produce from the poverty stricken ryots is a crime of the first magnitude" ("British Misrule in India," *Justice*, August 14, 1919)

One would be inclined to agree if the facts were as stated, but how does Mr Hyndman arrive at his 15s a head as the value of the gross produce of British India?

The population of British India in 1911 is given as 244 million odd, so that the value of the average gross

produce, according to Mr. Hyndman, would be £183,000,000 sterling, and yet in the year 1910-11 there were actually exported goods to the value of £137,000,000, and in 1911-12 £10,000,000 worth more, leaving about £40,000,000 for the subsistence of the whole population. This seems to be a *reductio ad absurdum*, but no doubt some of the exports came from Native States.

It will be seen from Leaflet No. XXIX of the East India Association ("Truths about India," p. 165) that Mr. Hyndman's figures about the "drain" have already been challenged, and that he has never thought fit to explain them. This new figure seems to require even more explanation, and it may be worth while once more to draw public attention to the refutation of his indictment published so long ago as 1912.

"Since the issue of the second edition of our Leaflet No. I, dealing with the alleged drain from India, Mr. Hyndman has, at p. 419 of his autobiography, thought proper to reiterate his favourite indictment to the effect that 'we drain out of India upwards of £30,000,000 a year,' without any commercial return whatever, and this terrible extortion of wealth by way of economic tribute is the chief cause of the impoverishment of the 240 million inhabitants of British territory, and the consequent famine and plague from which they suffer.

"This charge was repeated in a letter to *The Times*, and it was with reluctance that the leading journal published a letter in reply asking for the facts and figures on which the indictment was based.

"As no answer, direct or indirect, has been accorded to this challenge to produce proofs, and as Mr. Hyndman declines to examine and, if necessary, correct the figures given in our Leaflet, all that can be done is to discuss his figures as they stand. He refuses to give or even to discuss details of the home charges, but in his 'Ruin of India by British Rule' (being the report of the Social Democratic Federation, dated 1907), he specified 'pensions, interest, home charges, dividends and remittances to the capitalist and landlord classes with their hangers-on,' as the component parts of his £30,000,000, and these agree pretty fairly with the details given in our Leaflet No. I,

from which it appears that about half the drain (according to our view, or one-third according to his) consists of interest on money borrowed at, say,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in order to increase the produce of the land in India tenfold by irrigation, and to provide her with railways

"Some Indian critics object to railways as draining away the produce of the country, but it seems from p 8 of the paper alluded to above that Mr Hyndman admits the benefit India has derived from railways, and that benefit is surely a real 'commercial return' for the money borrowed on extraordinarily easy terms, just as the enormous increase of wealth due to irrigation certainly is

"The rest of the home charges must be defended on different grounds as the unavoidable cost of a foreign government, but then it can easily be contended that, even admitting this 'drain, the Government of India is still the most economic of civilized\* governments when what it does for the country is fairly considered. The lamentable poverty of India may be admitted, every country is poor which depends entirely on agriculture, but poverty is a comparative term, and even Mr Digby had to admit that 60 millions, or about one-sixth of the population, were tolerably 'prosperous'. It may be doubted if a much larger proportion in any country could be fairly so described, and, in many ways, poverty in India is not as cruel as for instance, in Russia where millions suffer from famine of which we hear little or nothing

"But if there is a drain out there is also a drain in, and we should like someone to calculate the drain of wealth into India without commercial return and then strike a balance

"The following facts show that the 'drain in' must be considerable, and should not be lightly disregarded

"During the last seventy years India has absorbed 2,250 million ounces of silver, or more than one-third of the whole world's supply during that period. In the last decade she absorbed 720 million out of 1,826 million ounces produced in the whole world' (Mr Sarma on p 524 of the *Hindustan Review* for December, 1911). Now 720 out of 1,820 is nearly 40 per cent. Is this a proof of increasing poverty? It does not, of course, prove increasing prosperity among the lower orders, but surely some of this inrush must filter down to some of the workers and go to raise wages to the rate to which everybody (except, perhaps, Mr Hyndman) knows they have risen since he

\* See *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1910

so confidently predicted the 'bankruptcy of India' in 1878. That such bankruptcy is still very remote is shown by the facts noticed recently in a leading article in *The Times*, under the heading 'A Romance of an Indian Port' (Karachi), and by the fact that India exported last year more wheat than was exported from any other country in the world'

That India is still equally absorbent, not only of silver but of gold, is proved by recent statements in the press

"What is the cause of the silver shortage?" asks the *Daily Express*, August 27, 1919, and proceeds thus to answer the question

"The price of silver went ahead still further yesterday, rising  $\frac{1}{2}$ d an ounce to 61 $\frac{1}{4}$ d, the highest quotation since 1867

'The price of silver has been going up and up'

'The cause is undoubtedly the persistent hoarding going on all over the world. This is particularly the case in India, where it is stated that since the war began the natives have hoarded something like £20,000,000 worth of silver

Curiously enough in *The Times* of October 23, 1919 Dr Gilbert Slater points out that

Since January 1, 1916, India has coined 1,300 million silver rupees, besides greatly inflating the paper currency, and has absorbed much more silver than all the mines of the world have produced in the same period'

"'Gold Drain on South Africa' is the heading of a telegram from Johannesburg last September. Details regarding the heavy export of British and Kruger sovereigns to India by Greek and Indian speculators show that £1,000 in gold in Delagoa Bay is worth £1,060 in Union banknotes, the sovereign in India being worth 23s to 26s

"Many thousands of pounds are exported daily through Delagoa. One Indian drew his bank balance of £14,000 in gold for this purpose. The Union has become so short of sovereigns that the traffic has been stopped—Exchange."

It may be asked, why refer to these oft-refuted fallacies? But one is forced to do so, as Mr Hyndman is quoted by

reformers and also agitators throughout the world, and returns to the charge in his interesting book, "The Awakening of Asia, in which he writes as if nothing had happened in the last forty years, and calmly ignores every attempt to present the truth about India in general, and himself in particular. His statements are so characteristic of extremist critics of the British Administration that it seems desirable to deal with them in some detail.

He seems almost to regret the failure of the Mutiny, and, though speaking of it as a 'national rising' inspired by hostility to English rule, he is yet constrained to explain its failure by the fact that the 'agricultural population over the greater part of India did not sympathize 'sufficiently' with the revolt to join in '—as much perhaps, as he seems to think they ought to have sympathized!

He would not, I fear admit that the ryots generally—that is, three-fourths of the population—not only took no interest in the so called rebellion but were often ready to shelter Europeans whenever they dared. Doubtless if the sepoys had been successful, the ryots would have accepted their rule or whatever sort of rule emerged from the welter, with their usual philosophy and sound common sense, they "let the legions thunder past and went on with their business of growing food.

On p 211\* Mr Hyndman says the rulers—*i.e.*, the District Officers—keep as far aloof from the people they govern as possible. On this point I consulted Mr Pennington, and this is what he said

I cannot answer for all the civilians in India, and possibly some of them are almost as exclusive as some of our high-caste Indian assistants but having been a district officer for nearly twenty years I can say with confidence that in Madras the statement is simply untrue, and to speak of civilians generally as 'unsympathetic carpet-baggers' is ludicrous.

"Even the common gibe (which he adopts and circulates) that competition-wallahs generally 'lack nowadays

\* "The Awakening of Asia"



that indescribable quality of the sahib or gentleman,' is far too sweeping. Many of them are members of old Anglo-Indian families, and even those who have risen from the ranks (like Sir Thomas Munro) have been amongst the most successful and popular officials we have ever had.

"Mr. Hyndman does not give the names of the witnesses he cites on pp. 212 and 214, but whoever the last may be, it is not true that Englishmen in Madras 'live totally estranged,' etc.; though, of course, it is true that they cannot often even yet mix socially with Indian ladies; but that a vast majority of the better sort of Europeans are on excellent terms with most of the Indians they meet in office and on business in Madras, at any rate, is absolutely certain.

"Mr. Hyndman makes a great deal more of the Guikwar incident at the Durbar than it deserves. Personally I believe it is capable of explanation, and I am sure the Guikwar is much too shrewd and well-mannered a man to be deliberately guilty of stupid rudeness.

"One might object as much as Mr. Hyndman to the 'loan' of 100 millions on account of the war; but to say that India was 'compelled' to lend the money, when it was proposed by a non-official member of the Viceroy's Council, and voted unanimously in the first enthusiasm of the war, is a very unfair way of looking at the transaction."

It would take too long to discuss Free Trade as it affects India; it is evident Mr. Hyndman has either never read Mr. McMinn's monumental paper on "The Wealth and Progress of India," or even Sir Arundel Arundel's and Sir Raymond West's valuable contributions to the discussion, or, *more suo*, prefers to ignore them all.

Nor can one discuss education at great length; but his figures on p. 218 are hopelessly wrong at the present time, and it does not appear where he found them.

The simple arithmetic of Indian education as given in the last Statistical Abstract shows that there were nearly 8 million children under some sort of instruction in 1915-16, and that they cost about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions sterling, or about £1 a head; so that to educate the whole population of a school-going age would cost at least 80 millions, and

would require 2 or 3 million teachers. Then again, 8 millions sterling spread over 240 millions would mean thirty persons for each £1, or 8d a head instead of a 1d as given on p. 218, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the population are under instruction, not 19, as stated.

Mr Hyndman goes on to say that the 'improvement' (I suppose in numbers and amount spent) is 'almost nominal'. Yet the same report shows that the amount spent has nearly doubled in the ten years from 1906-7 to 1915-16 whilst the number under instruction has increased from 4,946,240 to 7,275,504.

It is difficult to see what can be the object of publishing such foolishly erroneous statements since the veriest tyro can discover their inaccuracy. Yet they are repeated *ad nauseam* by self-constituted critics of Indian affairs—*e.g.* Mr S. Satyamurti only the other day spoke of the grant for education as  $4\frac{1}{2}$  instead of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions.

Whatever may be thought of our record in education, it is abundantly clear, as has already been said, that the Indian Government is still the cheapest civilized government in the world (excluding China) considering what it does for the people. (See 'Truths about India' pp. 99, 160, and 162.)

Mr Hyndman says that the official class has always pretended that the inhabitants of Hindustan are quite incapable of governing themselves but that is not exactly what the officials say.

It is not a question of governing themselves at home or even in local affairs but of carrying on the government of an immense *continent* full of all sorts of jarring elements—a very different business from that of governing any homogeneous colony—and the example of the successful administration of many 'protected' Indian States always under the watchful care of the Government, is no criterion of what would happen if the Government of India were intrusted to the uncontrolled domination of Indian Administrators however able and conscientious they might be.

Mr. Hyndman, indeed, tells us that the great majority of the cultivators do not agree with our view of Indian administration, and that the worst rule of Indians by their own people is preferred to the best management of foreigners. This may be so, but proof of the statement is lacking, and when he goes further and asserts that annexation to the British Empire in India has never been welcomed by "the people," he is on much more doubtful ground. He seems to have forgotten the outcry that was raised when it was proposed to hand back Berar to the rule of the Nizam.

## PART II

Those who are so fond of insisting on the undoubted poverty of the masses in India as a stick wherewith to beat the English Government never, so far as I know, remind people that the circumstances of the Indian peasant are in many ways very different from those of the Westerner.

They never, I think, draw attention to the plain fact that the Indian villager generally *pays no rent*, an item in the Englishman's budget which costs almost as much in our great towns as the very inadequate food they can afford to buy; and that again, even in our own country, is far less than they ought to have, though they may not often be allowed to die of actual starvation. Nor, in the south of India at any rate, do they suffer from the cold as they do in this country.

The mass of the people in every country is miserably poor. Even in England an enormous majority die "paupers."\*

Miss Rathborn, a lady of great experience and intelligence, declares that "widows and their children are in many parishes kept (under our system of out-relief) in a state of chronic starvation" ("Widows' Pensions," p. 9).

The truth is that we know very little of how the poor live anywhere.

\* *I.e.*, live from hand to mouth, and die without property. Messrs. Booth and Rowntree state that about 30 per cent. (instead of 40 per cent. as in India) suffer from insufficient nutrition.

Mrs. Besant and her Indian friends have been giving addresses all over the country. Mr. Wadia has been among the speakers. To Mr. Wadia, as a Parsee, one or two questions might be put. He said at Letchworth (and Mrs. Besant has repeated the statement) that "India, from being the richest country in the world, has become, *under British rule*, the poorest."

Now the Parsees were in India centuries before the British.

Were they, in those pre-British days, the wealthiest people in the world (or even in India)? and are they now the poorest?

If they are now among the wealthiest is that in spite of British rule, or in consequence of it, or why?

Can he, as a Parsee, estimate the commercial value to the Parsees of the hundred years of peace they have enjoyed under British rule in a country which had never known abiding peace for at least seven or eight hundred years?

Does Mr. Wadia remember the history of Thuggee? and was the strangling "noose of the Thug" (to quote Mrs. Besant) good for commerce? or was it not a good thing the British suppressed it? Mrs. Besant, speaking at Letchworth, thought she had proved her statement that *India was the richest country in the world before the arrival of the British*, by referring to the fact that it used to absorb most of the gold of the world.

When it was pointed out that some years ago it was estimated that India still absorbed 40 per cent of all the gold produced in the world, *or more than double her share in proportion to her population*, Mrs. Besant replied to the effect that *that* "wealth" did not go to the poor peasant, but to the English exploiters of India's riches.

Do she and Mr. Wadia consider that in pre-British days wealth used to go to the working classes, the "untouchables," for instance? and that none of the wealth of India now goes to the Parsees and other *Indian* merchants and lawyers?

As to the incidence of the Land Revenue, we understood Mrs. Besant to say that it sometimes amounted to 50 per cent. of the *gross* produce.

This might be so in some cases where the crop partly failed and the full rent was exacted. With due respect to her allegation, however, we must suppose that Mrs. Besant really meant the *net* produce, because that is the basis of the assessment in Madras.

But, even so, has she observed that the Land Revenue of the whole of India has frequently of late years, amounted to less than one-eighth of the value of the *surplus* produce actually exported? and that in the Congress organ *India* it was reported, as the result of a number of surveys by Indian students under the supervision of Dr. Slater, Professor of Economics in Madras, that the Land Revenue in those villages amounted to about 5 *per cent. of the gross produce*?

Is she aware that the average assessment per acre all over India, inclusive of the charge for water which sometimes increases the value of land far more than a hundred-fold, is just 1s. 8d. an acre and 1s. 8d. a head? Pure sand without water will produce nothing. Irrigate it, and you will soon reap two tons of rice to the acre.

Has she calculated the amount spent in the shape of fees paid to lawyers every year? and does she know that it has been estimated at 25 millions sterling, or *more* than the whole Land Revenue which is said to be so oppressive?

Does she know how much is spent upon the temples? Mr. Pennington says he found, when he was in India ten years ago, that about twenty lakhs of rupees—say £130,000—were being spent on the repair of *one* temple, certainly a very large one, at Rameswaram. This wealthy country would think twice before spending even £100,000 on repairing St. Paul's; but then we are a more materialistic people, and certainly not so lavish in some ways—*e.g.*, marriages.

It is most misleading to compare (as Mr. Wadia does)

the £2 a head average income with the average of any Western nation, and, as Dr Gilbert Slater shows, that average was probably an under-estimate even when it was made, and ought now to be about £5, at any rate in Madras. There is of course, a much larger proportion than elsewhere of extremely poor people in India, where probably at least 70 per cent of the whole population are agriculturists who are everywhere badly paid, but, as often pointed out, in India agricultural labourers are largely paid in kind, and the rise and fall of prices affect them but slightly.

Mr. Wadia's attention might profitably be directed to the words of an authority whom he is bound to respect *India*,\* the organ of the Indian National Congress, in an important article dealing with the economic conditions of "Some South Indian Villages," falls foul of just such persons as is Mr Wadia 'the political reformer' who will take any economic argument that comes his way and "will tell a British audience that the average Indian income is under £2 per annum

*India* characterizes this statement as to the average income as incredible to the point of stupefaction to the British hearer, and protests that its effect may lead to the supposition that the Indians are primitive savages.

This attempt to measure the situation in terms of money, is most dangerous, says *India*, and it adduces Professor Slater's conclusions as to the justice of stating the income of the people in the form of the commodities they can afford to consume.

The cost of a two-roomed house is an item of typical value in this respect (*vide* p. 217 of Professor Slater's book). Beyond the labour of the tenant and his wife the total cost of the house was only 13 rupees 5 annas.

Well may *India* exclaim as to the sighs of envy that might be drawn by "house-famined England

\* *India*, August 19, 1919

For Mr Wadia's benefit a few more statements may be summarized from this same article

The food statistics of the Agricultural Department of the Madras Presidency show that the land produced enough grain to allow each person 24 ounces per day. Hence other causes than insufficient production enter into the under-nutrition of the people.

On the other hand, the milk-supply worked out at less than one gallon per head per annum and nearly all of that was known to be consumed by *adult Brahmans*. The purchase and wearing of jewellery and ornaments of gold and silver are explained as being not only a method of elementary banking and investment but a serious method of inducing confidence in creditors.<sup>1</sup>

An American millionaire once told the writer that his only ground of complaint against his wife was her refusal to wear sufficiently expensive clothing and jewellery at the time of those crises when he specially desired her to look lavish: so perhaps the Indian villager is no cruder than the rest of us in his method of creating a feeling of security.

'The excessive fragmentation of holdings in India seems even more complicated than is the case here. Instances are given of a man holding plots of land surrounded by the land of others, so tiny that a plough will not even rest upon them, and Professor Slater goes so far as to suggest legislation upon the lines of the English Enclosure Acts

\*                    \*                    \*                    \*

'As to the incidence of the Land Revenue, these detailed studies and the conclusions deducible seem in grave conflict with the usually accepted views upon the subject. The Land Revenue is put as low as  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the gross agricultural produce. A strong case is, however, made out, and it appears the only method of disproving it is to collect and collate more and yet more information."

According to our critics India was on the verge of bankruptcy forty years ago, and is so still in spite of all evidence to the contrary. I oppose to them the opinion of Sir

Alfred Chatterton, whom I met some time ago, when he kindly gave me permission to quote from a letter of his Sir Alfred Chatterton, who knows what he is talking about, says that handloom weavers were never so prosperous. He writes

“ I am going back to India, so that I am afraid I have no time at present to deal with the misrepresentations of the Industrial Commission which are being circulated with a view to create political capital. In no part of the Report, unless it be in the Pandit's minute of dissent, is there anything that could be taken to indicate that the Commission were of opinion that ‘from a great industrial country distinguished for artistic workmanship it has become a poverty stricken land.’

‘ In the chapters on cottage industries the following occurs ‘There is no real ground for the belief that they are generally in a decadent condition.’ In the same chapter it is stated that the hand loom industry turns over 50 crores of rupees a year and *personally* I hold the opinion, based on a long study of the industry, that it was never so flourishing as it is to day. The enormous quantities of brass copper and aluminium absorbed by India tell a different tale from that promulgated so steadily by the critics of Indian administration.

Then take the evidence of Capt Petavel, an economist of European reputation, and now Lecturer on Reconstruction to the University of Calcutta, who cautiously says the “economic future” (of India) is ‘one of hope.

Mr Hyndman has probably never seen Capt Petavel's essay on the subject or even his five lectures delivered before the University of Calcutta entitled *Man and Machine Power* which were printed and published by that University at the instance of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, c.s.i., and circulated to every leading University in the world. Mrs Besant and her friends must have heard of him, even if Mr Hyndman has no.

Mr Hyndman Mrs Besant and her friends, as far as there is any truth in their statements, are still living in the last century.

Sir Stanley Reed, who is described by the *Daily Herald*



as "the very liberal editor of the *Times of India*," states that conditions in India have been completely revolutionized since he went out. He says

"In 1897, India was poor and the population was subject to famine and unemployment. Now every industry is short of labour. There has been a marked change in the financial power of India and an enormous change in the whole social outlook. There was a desire for a higher standard of living and education, and for a higher standard of social surroundings. There was a wish among Indians for a larger share in the government of their own country—not for selfish ends. Indians in every walk of life wished that India should take her full stature amongst the 'Dominions of the Empire'."

It is in the desire to hasten that day that I have ventured to put these few remarks before you.

These "other than wise" friends of India are indeed builders of castles in the air of the free and prosperous India that will arise, when India shall become once more the arbiter of her own destiny. But these same castle-builders are also the fabricators of such a tissue of half-truths or facts torn from their context so as to convey actual untruth that one is forced to be very doubtful as to the stability of an edifice erected upon such slender foundations.

Such people never face side-issues. They are of those who imagined, if Great Britain betrayed her trust with regard to Russia that Germany and others would respect Russia's attempt to work out her own salvation! Their shibboleth is as old as that of Cain the traditional first murderer. When you point out that the premature withdrawal of British control, faulty though it may be, would leave India a prey to more merciless exploitation, they cry, "What is that to us? Are we our brother's keeper," and this in the name of peace, freedom, and human brotherhood!

By all means let us build castles in the air. As Thoreau has said, that is where they should be. But in the name of sanity and common sense let the foundations

be truly laid, foursquare with the eternal principles of  
*Justice and Truth*

### PART III

Few people in this country are aware of the circumstances which induced, one might almost say "compelled," Mrs Besant's meteoric entry on the stage of politics. The following extracts are from the late Dr Nair's book "The Evolution of Mrs Besant," which is full of original evidence and which should be read, unpleasant as it is, by everyone who desires to understand Mrs Besant and the real genesis of the extremist form of Home Rule agitation in India.

I met Dr Nair here in London shortly before his death and was impressed with his sincerity of purpose and the sense of duty which impelled him to bring forward the painful evidence adduced in the volume from which the following resumé is taken. Only redundancies are omitted, and the words are those of Dr Nair all the way through.

'The effect of the lawsuits in which she had been involved was to render the Theosophical Society practically useless as an advertising medium for Mrs Besant.

"The Theosophical Society had been exceedingly reactionary on most social questions connected with the Hindu community, with the one exception of early marriage. Mrs Besant had occupied herself with defending observances even many Hindus had given up as hopeless to defend. But when she started the social reform movement within the Theosophical Society, she tried to capture as many followers as possible.

"Another movement started by Mrs Besant was to establish a rival institution to the Young Men's Christian Association. Mrs. Besant started a Young Men's Indian Association. But these were only preliminaries to her ultimate objective, which was to capture the Indian politicians and enrol them as her worshippers.'

Dr Nair here quotes from an article by Mr Lovat Fraser in the *Edinburgh Review* as follows

\* See Note at end of discussion

"She exalted Indian spiritual ideals at the expense of Western materialism, which is not a difficult process, and by gulling the unthinking and the credulous with stories of a golden age of India, *which never existed*, she managed to attract a fairly large following"

Dr. Nair proceeds

"She praised everything Indian and ran down everything European till the Indians stood revealed as so many martyrs suffering untold tyrannies at the hands of the British barbarians. She told the Indians at a conference at Chittore that, being a white woman, she could say and do things which the Indians themselves could not say and do, and could thus undertake a vigorous political agitation on behalf of the Indians. The idea of a white woman, immune from the rigours of Government action undertaking all the risks while the Brahmins reaped all the rewards was an arrangement which suited the peculiarly selfish instincts of the Madras Brahmin

"It also suited Mrs Besant. She knew that the risks she ran were very little, while the programme sketched out opened up a magnificent avenue for self advertisement. Thus was she launched on her political career—the knight errant who was to ride abroad redressing Indian wrongs, and receiving the homage and adoration of the 'down-trodden' Indians whom it was her special privilege to lift up to their rightful position of citizens of the British Empire

Armed with the necessary weapon of political warfare, a daily newspaper, she launched on that campaign which was to make Indians free and herself the uncrowned queen of India

"Mrs Besant's first big move in Indian politics was to bring about a union between the Extremists and Moderates of the National Congress, in other words, she wanted the active co-operation of Mr B C Tilak and his followers in her Indian political campaign. Her first attempt in this direction failed, and following this failure we find in the columns of *New India* a threat that if the Congress still remained in a condition of masterly inactivity, it would be well for young people to take action, not in opposition to the Congress, which must always be regarded as the head of political activities in India, but as supplementing its work in a field which it does not wish to occupy at present practically an ultimatum to the Congress from

Mrs. Besant to say that 'if the Congress will not take up Home Rule, I shall.'

"Then followed in *New India* a series of articles on the 'Resurrection of Asia, and it claimed that India should be given Home Rule as a sort of defensive measure against the advance of China. These articles foreshadowed the development of China as a great military power with the consequent danger to India of a Chinese invasion. *New India* pleaded that India should be enabled to stand on her own feet in order to repel the Chinese invasion.

"Then, on August 3, 1915, *New India* expressed the opinion that the people of India should agitate for self-government and should fight for freedom, exclaiming, 'Who will join hands with us?'

"On August 17, 1915, *New India* proclaimed that in the reconstruction of the Empire lay the opportunity of India for freedom, and on August 21 'A Britisher' wrote in *New India* that—

"'The chief hindrance to the acquirement of self-government for the Motherland is not its Rulers, not the Anglo-Indian press, it is the inactivity, the torpidity, the painful indifference of the Indians themselves

"On September 7, 1915, *New India* announced that Mrs. Besant had gone to Bombay to ascertain Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's views on the political situation, in other words, to discuss with him the question of Home Rule.

'On September 13 she gave an interview to an Associated Press representative in Bombay, when she talked of India's right to self-government, and said that after the Congress had formulated a scheme which she should like to call Home Rule for India, the country will be stirred on behalf of it.

'On September 15 she wrote on the Congress and self-government and advised Sir S. P. Sinha, the President of the Congress of 1915, to claim Swaraj.

"There was an attack on Sir Pherozeshah Mehta in which she said that the gentleman had so long dominated Bombay that it was doubtful if anyone else there had the courage to lead, while he himself was too ill to be depended upon, that a vigorous policy was above all things wanted in the Bombay Congress of 1915, and that up till then Bombay had given no sign of preparing anything in the way of a Home Rule scheme.

"On September 25, 1915, the Home Rule League was born with Home Rule for India as its only object

"At first it was announced that Mr Dadabhai Naoroji was the President of the League, but that venerable gentleman promptly disclaimed any connection with the newly born organization

"Sir Pherozeshah Mehta died in November, 1915, and almost the last obstacle which stood in the way of the capture of the National Congress by the Home Rulers was thus removed

Home Rule activities continued under the energetic guidance of Mrs Besant

"What took place at the Bombay conference presided over by Sir S P Sinha how he checkmated the impulsive eagerness of Mrs Besant to get the Congress committed to the Home Rule propaganda are well known to Indian politicians

But after the Congress of 1915 with the semi-detachment of Sir S P Sinha from Congress activities, Mrs Besant made more headway With the deaths of Mr Gokhale and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, with the partial retirement of Sir S P Sinha there was hardly an old Congress leader who could stand up and fight the increasing agitation for catastrophic changes Moderate Congress leaders like the snakes in Ireland committed political suicide to save themselves from destruction

The Congress of 1916 under an old and respectable figurehead was captured by the Besantine clique The increased irritation felt in certain Muhammedan quarters, mainly due to certain events which were developing in the Moslem world-politics, threw them into the lap of Besantine politicians and since then we have had the spectacle of the so called Congress and Moslem League posing as the representatives of the whole of India

'Mrs Besant who is supposed to have received a mandate from this ill-assorted combination of the Congress and Moslem League, went full steam ahead Our readers need not be reminded of the fury and vigour of her political activities in this Presidency in the year 1917 With the increase in the vigour of her political agitation, the courage of the Madras Government seemed to ooze out The more diplomatic the Madras Government became, the more dramatic became the political situation created by Mrs Besant She seemed to expect deportation or internment, but the Madras Government moved not.

"She published her farewell address to the people of the Madras Presidency, wrote her last Will and Testament, and stood ready for her exit from the political stage, but the Madras Government would not let the curtain down. The situation was ludicrous. The agitation was resumed and things went on for some time longer, when, to the amazement of a few and to the amusement of all, the Madras Government proceeded against Mrs. Besant under the Press Act. What an anticlimax that Press Act prosecution was!

"Then later came her internment. As a prelude, His Excellency the Governor came down from the hills and granted an interview to Mrs. Besant at Government House, Mount Road. Nothing could have been better from Mrs. Besant's point of view. The interview was exceedingly dramatic, and Mrs. Besant walked out of Government House like a tragedy queen injured and oppressed by a cruelly autocratic Government.

"We have heard that British politicians waxed eloquent on English platforms about the cruelty of making Mrs. Besant rot in jail, while the High Priestess of Home Rule went comfortably up to the queen of hill stations, drove in her own motor car from the railway station to her bungalow and there in the company of her own political colleagues lay reclining on the hills like gods together nursing her grievances against the Madras Government and posing as a martyr for all India to admire and weep over while her followers went all over the country, as if to say, 'If you have tears prepare to shed them now.'

The interned queen held durbars at Gulistan with the Home Rule flag floating outside waving its challenge to the Madras Government to come and haul it down if they dared.

"Mrs. Besant, going through the precautionary measure of internment, used it as an advertisement, and with such effect that the Viceroy forthwith took her as a partner in the creation of a calm political atmosphere for the special benefit of the Secretary of State.

How she accomplished this task and what sort of calm political atmosphere was the result are matters of common knowledge.

"We have a shrewd suspicion that she has scored both over the Madras Government and the Government of India and that she has come out of her internment stronger than when she went in. She has succeeded in converting the Theosophical Society, which was originally a religious

society, into a political one. In a letter to the Government of Madras she said

“‘The Theosophical Society cannot identify itself with any special creed, religious, social, or political, but it can and ought to stand for the sacred right of free speech for all opinions which do not incite crime, and can see that His Excellency’s instinctive attack on religious liberty shows the true spirit of autocracy and hatred of all freedom

“‘It has therefore allied itself in this struggle in *entente cordiale* with the National Congress, the Moslem League, and the Home Rule League in one solid body united in resistance to autocracy and in defence of the liberty of the people, and I, as President of the Theosophical Society, will conclude no separate peace’

Mrs Besant may consider with pardonable pride that her election as President of the Indian National Congress of 1917 was a great personal triumph. She entered the arena of Indian politics only in 1914 and within three years to have been able to wear the martyr’s crown and to win the blue ribbon of native Indian politics is a record in political progress.

“‘This crowning success of Mrs Besant’s brief Indian political career was brought about by methods hitherto foreign to the Indian National Congress. To pack the reception committee with new members *whose subscriptions were paid by anonymous patrons* who remained behind the screen and pulled the wires is more the method of Tammany Hall than of the Indian National Congress.

‘But the Congress whose Presidentship she secured by such means was only the ghost of the Indian National Congress, which by years of steady work carried on with moderation and sagacity, with a single eye for India’s political advancement, had at last secured recognition as the common political platform for educated India. To attain this position the Congress had, with considerable difficulty, to purge itself of disruptive elements in Indian politics.

‘To bring back these forces of political extremism and disorder, and to drive out the more sober and steadying influences which have been the making of the Indian National Congress, was the main work of Mrs Besant.

“‘With the ascendancy of Mrs Besant in the control of the Indian National Congress, its national and representative character disappeared. The work that the leaders of

the Indian National Movement did in thirty years Mrs Besant has undone in three. She has successfully played the part of the 'Pied Piper,' and enticed the schoolboys to follow her as a tumultuous, shouting crowd. The older Indian politicians, who had hitherto exercised the function of a brake on the Indian political movements, frightened at the possible development of political hooliganism on the part of the immature crowd and its harebrained leader, deserted their post in the most cowardly manner. Mrs Besant once wrote that —

“‘A woman who fought her way out of Christianity and Whiggism into free thought and Radicalism absolutely alone, who gave up every old friend, male and female, rather than resign the belief she had struggled to in solitude, who, again, in embracing active socialism has run counter to the views of nearest male friends—such a woman may very likely go wrong, but I think she may venture without conceit, at least to claim independent judgment’

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“The German Crown Prince, when remonstrated with by the Kaiser about the heavy German losses at Verdun, is reported to have replied that he was brave enough to bear the German losses with fortitude. Mrs Besant, when her attention was drawn to the broken-up home and outraged friendships, claims independent judgment. A woman's whims elevated to the dignity of independence of judgment may break a loving mother's heart, may break up a happy home, may bring a world-wide society which others have built up with tact and industry to the very verge of ruin, but it is time to cry 'halt' when the political future of a great country is attempted to be sacrificed at the altar of the vanity which seems to be insatiable. The conduct of those Indian political leaders who bartered away the interests of their country for the flattery of an adventuress who preaches patriotism to Indians while belittling the achievements of her own country and countrymen, will receive the censure of history and the condemnation of posterity.”



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Lincolnshire Room, Great Tothill Street, Westminster, on Monday, January 19, 1920, when a paper was read by Miss I R Scatterd, entitled "India and her friends Wise and Otherwise" Sir J D Rees Bart, M P, in the chair The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present Sir William Owens Clark, Colonel C E Yate, C S I, C M G, M P, Brigadier General H A Iggulden C I R, Colonel C I Swaine, I M S (retired), the Rev Dr Durham the Baroness Barnekoff Captain and Mrs E C Cox, Lady Kensington, Mr Duncan Irvine, I C S (retired), Mr N C Sen, O B E, Mr F C Channing I C S (retired), Mr W Coldstream, K I H, Mr J B Pennington, I C S (retired), Mr G Owen Dunn, Mr F H Brown, Mr H Charles Woods, Mr G A Jweadie, I C S (retired), Mrs A M T Jackson, Miss Lloyd Pierce, Miss Grey, Mr K J Tarachand, Mr M M Alloige, Miss Sykes, the Rev Frank Penny Mr Frank Miss Dunderdale, Mrs Walsh, Mr S R Rao, Mr H I Dunning, Miss Shaw, Miss Beadon, Miss Barneby Miss Spiers, Mr H I Leach, Miss Dunbar, Mrs Collis Mr G M Ryan, Dr Mir Anwaruddin Mrs Bartholomew, Mr H R J Hemming General and Mrs Cadogan Baillie, the Hon Mrs Grant, Mr and Mrs H M Gibbs Mrs White, Mrs Hedley Thomson, the Rev W I Broadbent, Miss Harley Mrs F F Kinnear Tarte, Miss de Koebeck Mrs Stephenson, Captain Campbell, Miss J Cadman, Miss Shephard Mr Jarrell Mrs Hooker, Miss Powell, Lady Maud Parry Mr C I Parker Mr S S Gnana Viran, Mrs Nast, Mr Bradley, Miss Hopley, Mrs Barbara McKenzie and Mr Stanley P Rice Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I very much regret that the absence of Lord Lamington has led to my occupying the chair to day

Being in the chair I cannot be called to order, but I promise not to abuse the rules of order to any very great extent

At the same time there is one subject not arising out of the paper, which is very difficult for any gathering like this of people who are interested in India and in Mahommedans to ignore While we are met here to day the question of the future of the Turkish Empire and of Constantinople, a question in which India is so vitally interested is probably being debated in Paris It is a question of such vital importance to all friends of India, that I cannot help saying how much I hope the solution will be such as will not cause pain and disappointment to the people of India, and in particular to the Mahommedans of India whether or not they take a great interest in the Sultan of Turkey as the Caliph of Islam, as to which I have some little doubt I think quite as much as need be has been made of that particular point But as a student of Mahommedan languages, and a

frequenter of the company of Islam, I firmly believe that the Mahomedans in India, and the Mahommedans all the world over, are very proud of the position of the Sultan as head of a great Power situated in what Gibbon described as a place destined by Providence to be the seat of a great Empire, and I believe the expulsion of the Sultan would be deeply regretted, if not warmly resented, by the Mahommedans of India. I hope and pray that a satisfactory solution will be arrived at on that subject, because I am not one of those who think we ought to have on our hands all the minor nations, like Armenians, Serbians, Albanians, Montenegrins, and so on to think of, but that it is about time we thought of our own interest and our own pockets (Hear, hear)

Miss Scatcherd has written a very interesting paper. She has commended to Mr Hyndman and others the study of some very useful figures, and I am quite sure that Mr. Hyndman and others will totally disregard her advice in this respect, and will continue to repeat those figures which best maintain their own arguments. There is one criterion which no one seems willing to apply to these questions, that is the difference in the expense of living in a country where you do not require expensive housing, clothes, or food, and in a country where things are only procurable at almost impossible prices. That is a point which is invariably avoided by all hot reformers, who never seem to me to be the wisest people in the world. Another point which is totally neglected by all those who bring accusations against British rule in India is that British India is not charged one penny for the services of the British Navy, without which the country would have been the prey of every pirate and every invader for the last hundred years or more, as it was before the period of British supremacy. I think nobody who knows the country personally can have any doubt, whatever figures may be brought forward, that India has progressed very much in material prosperity in recent years. There was a very admirable paper published in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*\* for this month, in which it was shown that on an average of three years before the war the trade showed that there was a balance due to India of some 50 millions. It is not a sign of poverty to have a balance due to you, and I think in England we should be extremely glad if the account were of the same character. I am disinclined, even if I had time to enter into any argument upon these figures, but it seems to me that both sides can derive equal comfort according to the faith that is in them. There is one remark I would make upon one set of figures which are continually quoted and thrown at the heads of those who venture to defend our rule in India, and that is the question of the land assessment. You know that it was a recommendation of the Joint Committee on the India Bill, in which my honourable and gallant friend, Colonel Yate, and I are so interested, that this in future should be more of a legislative than an administrative matter. It may well be that that should be so, and it will deprive critics of the opportunity of mis-

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\* W. H. Moreland on "Some Thoughts about the 'Drain' in India," *ASIATIC REVIEW*, January, 1920.

representing the matter Half the net is a light assessment. Half the gross would be exceedingly heavy assessment. If you allow for cultivating expenses anything between 25 per cent. and 50 per cent., obviously, when you deduct all that, and when a man gets half for himself of what is left over everything, he is doing pretty well, and I think the tax payers of this country would be rather glad to be in the same position as the Indian ryot in this respect As regards Mrs. Besant, I should like to make one remark, and I hope to carry the audience with me I have never devoted much time or ink to the defence or praise of Mrs. Besant. In point of fact I described her as a storm-petrel in petticoats in the House of Commons, but I am bound to say that in my judgment this is not the time for raking up or for bringing forward criticism of Mrs. Besant, or of anybody else It is the time to follow the example set by our most gracious Sovereign I let us have a spirit amnesty, not only an amnesty by proclamation, among ourselves Mrs. Besant at the present moment is pretty moderate, and has been helping in the legislation which has just been put through, and which, whether we like it or not, we must all wish to make the best of Mrs. Besant has, in this respect, been a moderate critic, and has exercised a helpful influence, and therefore let us not bring up anything she has said in the past Let us extend to her a spirit of amnesty, and I would suggest to Miss Scatterd that she should leave out Part III of her paper, which is concerned with Mrs. Besant

Sir J. D. Rees then read a letter from Dr. John Pollen, C. I. E., late Hon. Secretary of the Association, and member of the council, to the following effect

*January 16, 1920*

MY DEAR MISS SCATCHERD,

Although the doctors still insist that I must keep quite quiet, I feel I must send you a line to wish you all success in the reading of your paper (which Sir Arundel fittingly describes as "excellent")

Its main object is to make good blood instead of bad blood by bringing out some fundamental truths about our administration in India In these days, when so many seem to take an insane delight in blackening every blot in that by no means blotless record, it is well to insist upon the fact that most of the pages are clean, and that since 1857 there has been no deliberately harsh or unjust Government in India Mistakes have no doubt been made, but that only means that the Government has been a human Government

I have always held that, such as it is, it rests and has rested, not on conquest, but on the consent of the governed, and that is the only sure foundation on which any Government can rest

I am glad that you bring out clearly that the land assessment is, on the whole, *light*, and is certainly not the cause of the poverty of the ryot, and that on the average the people of India, although poor inhabitants of a very rich country, are not so poor compared with the poor of other countries as is often pretended

As one who from the early days of his service has always been "Pro-Indian" and used to being reproached by some Mandarins as being "too

much in with the Indians," may I thus place on record my hearty appreciation of your thoughtful and tactful paper.

(Signed) J POLLEN

The HON SECRETARY, in appealing for new members of the Association, said that Dr Pollen, who was unique in his power of getting members, during the time that he had acted as Secretary, had increased the membership of the Association from about 60 to 500, and it was his (the speaker's) ambition to raise it very considerably more than that, although he had not the same opportunities as Dr Pollen had. He appealed to all present to try to obtain as many new members as possible. They did not merely want people who were known to be interested in India, as were the members of the Association, but those who had not yet manifested any particular interest in India. He was sure there were many who, if they were asked, would be pleased to become members of the Association. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN read letters which had been received from Lord Burnham, Lady Astor, M.P., and others, expressing their regret at being unable to be present at the lecture.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, we are so accustomed nowa days to the eloquence of women that it does not even call for comment. I am sure we have heard a most interesting paper, delivered in a good manner, and, what is most important, in an audible voice. I am very pleased that Miss Scatcherd has kindly taken to heart the remarks I made about the spirit of amnesty. She spoke of the statements made in English papers going all over the world, and that is my reason for mentioning one statement made in her own paper. Whether any class of people are capable of governing themselves is a matter about which diverse opinions are held at this moment, even among those people who are occupied in governing in our own Parliament. Whether people desire to be governed by their own people or are satisfied with the government of foreigners is a matter upon which present events in Egypt are throwing a lurid light. When Miss Scatcherd says that the majority of people in this country die as paupers I think that is rather a misleading statement. I believe the people in this country are better off at present than in any other place in Europe. One might read her statement to mean that most of our people die as paupers in receipt of relief. She spoke of the £100,000,000 loan, and rightly said it was proposed by an Indian member of Council. I think it went even further than that. I think the vote was taken of the Indian members only, and that they all voted in its favour. As to the aloofness of British officers from the Indians, I think the boot is upon the other leg. It is the Indians who keep rather aloof from the Europeans. I state a fact and I am not blaming Indians for it. As to the land revenue, our old friend, Mr. Pennington, could tell us that in his district of Tinnevely irrigated land sells for more than twenty years' purchase, which is considered to be a good price in this country. But I do not wish to occupy time devoted to debate, and will call on Colonel Yate to address this large and representative assembly.

Colonel C E YATE, M.P., regretted that the Chairman should have invited the Lecturer to omit Part III of the paper, and hoped that every body in the audience would read that part carefully when it came out in the journal, because what was said there ought to be well known throughout the country generally. He was one of those who wished to see Indians with a greater share in the management of their own country. The misrepresentations, though, which had been made about the British Government in India had been very serious, and had done a great deal of harm, especially of late. In the days of the Mutiny, they must remember it was a mutiny of soldiers against the Government, but the people of the country, as a rule, were with the Government, and Europeans were often assisted and saved by the people of the country. In the recent Punjab revolution, however, they had seen mobs, not from the country but from the great towns, excited to unexampled violence and fury, but the Government in this case had the soldiers with them in putting down the mob who were trying to murder every European man, woman, and child, and to destroy every bit of Government property equally with that of the Indians who were serving the Government. They all knew with what difficulty the murderous mobs were prevented from carrying out their fell designs, and he was glad to see in how many cases Indians had come forward to help Europeans who were in danger. He much regretted that some of those who came to this country made misrepresentations with regard to the British Government in India, and the Lecturer was to be congratulated on the plucky manner in which she had brought some of these erroneous statements to light. In reference to the question of the Sultan of Turkey, he expressed the hope that the Conference at Paris would come to a satisfactory conclusion and that a settlement would be arrived at whereby the Sultan of Turkey would remain in Constantinople as an independent ruler. (Applause.)

Mr H CHARLES WOODS, commenting on the remarks of the Chairman and Colonel Yate with regard to Constantinople, hoped that a solution satisfactory to the feelings of Moslems would be arrived at. There were three aspects of the Turkish question that were not sufficiently noticed in this country, though a great deal of ink had been spilt upon that subject. Firstly, it did not seem to matter very much whether millions of non-Turkish Moslems were historically correct or incorrect in believing that the Sultan was their Caliph. What mattered was whether or not they did, in fact, regard him as their spiritual chief. Secondly, as he (Mr Woods) believed one of the claims of the Sultan to the Caliphate rested upon the fact that he was the most important Moslem Prince of the day, it appeared that if he were removed from Constantinople it might have an indirect effect upon his claims to the Caliphate. And thirdly, while Constantinople was undoubtedly the *pièce de résistance* of the Turkish question from a European standpoint, the future of the Asiatic part of the former dominions of the Sultan was really the all-important question from the Christian point of view. If the Sultan were removed from Constantinople, neither the Armenian nor the Greek question in Asiatic Turkey would be thereby solved. Those questions required solutions more fundamental and more

far reaching even than the question of Constantinople—solutions which must secure to the subject peoples security and safety in the future

Mr TARACHAND regretted that Miss Scatcherd had omitted Part III of her paper, because in his opinion a great deal of harm had been done in India by Mrs Besant. She had started as a disciple of theosophy, and had then developed into an Indian politician. Her followers were members of the society which she had founded, the Order of the Star in the East, and they were only incidentally members of the Home Rule for India League.

Mr HAROLD F DUNNING said he had been some years in India, had mixed extensively with Indians, and had discussed with many of the principal ruling Princes in India questions regarding India, with the result, he was convinced the question was largely one of education.

The cause of most of the little disturbances we have had in India is directly attributable to part knowledge of facts. People such as Mrs Besant went to India, convinced the uneducated (most of Mrs Besant's followers belong to this class), but they did not convince the educated Indians. The educated Indian, with few exceptions, was perfectly satisfied with the British rule, though, of course, there were points with which he did not agree (and this, most people will allow, is inevitable). He knew he was getting on much better under British rule than if Indians had remained their own rulers, having regard to the many castes, contentious factors, and differences of opinion in India itself.

With regard to the question of the aloofness of the British officer (by this he meant those deputed by the Home Government to control certain areas), it was certainly the opinion in India, and not without just cause, that these representatives did not take the opportunity presented of studying Indian questions from the Indian point of view and were much more aloof than they need be.

On the motion of Mr Owen Dunn hearty votes of thanks were by acclamation accorded to the Lecturer and the Chairman.

The Chairman having thanked the meeting on behalf of the Lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

[NOTE BY THE LECTURER —I refrained from replying on account of the lateness of the hour, but was willing to omit the reading of Part III, which I added rather for general information, finding Mrs Besant needed a whole paper to herself. Certainly the "Evolution of a Reformer," as illustrated by the life history of "A. B.", might justify the Chairman's doubt as to reformers being the 'wisest people in the world.' At the request of those disappointed this time, I will deal with Mrs Besant's career, as it affects India, on another occasion, here or elsewhere.

The term "pauper" was not used in its technical sense, but only meant that the vast majority live from hand to mouth, and die without leaving any property behind worth mentioning —F. R. SCATCHERD.]

## BURMA

BY SIR HARVEY ADAMSON, K.C.S.I.

WHEN I landed at Bombay in 1877—an Indian civilian on my way, as I thought, to the Northern Provinces—I was considerably perturbed to find on reporting myself at the Secretariat that I was posted direct to Burma. My acquaintances in Bombay were unable to give me any information about Burma, but their countenances betrayed the apprehension that they and I were parting for ever. On my way across India I happened to travel with a knowledgeable officer of my own service. He told me that the mosquitoes in Burma were as large as his fist. He corrected the depressing influence of this remark by assuring me that from an official point of view Burma was the best of all Indian provinces for promotion. "Why?" I asked. "Because," he replied, "no one has ever been known to live five years in Burma." Even at the present day the average Englishman, though he knows very little about Burma, will at least be positive that it is a place with a dreadfully malarious climate. I am happily in a position to tender myself as an exhibit to rebut these inexactitudes about the climate of Burma. I lived thirty-eight years in Burma, was scarcely ever ill, and enjoyed every day of my time there. The truth is that there are unhealthy stations in Burma as in every province of India, but that on the whole the climate is as salubrious as any in the East. In some respects it is less trying than in most parts of India, because the monsoon breaks early and the hot season is shorter and less fierce than in India, and also because at all times of the year one can be assured of a fairly cool night *in Burma*. A night punka is never a necessity, though it may often be a welcome luxury.

As for mosquitoes, one soon gets acclimatized to these

unpleasant creatures, and in any case there are few places in Burma where they are more offensive than in Calcutta. I grant that there are a few obscure stations where they are very odious, and these have given a bad reputation to the whole province. I have a vivid recollection of my first visit to Maubin. We had been playing tennis, and were sitting enjoying a peg in the twilight, when Boom-buzz! a sound like an aeroplane invasion, and everyone rushed to the nearest house, which, like all houses in Maubin, was built like a meat-safe, with every window, door, and crevice lined with sheets of perforated zinc. The sound came from clouds of mosquitoes which were wending their way across the river from the jungle opposite, a nightly occurrence. Strange to say, Maubin is a very healthy spot, the mosquito not being of the *Anopheles* variety.

Burma was an unknown land in the remote days to which I have referred, and it cannot be said that she has yet emerged into the full blaze of publicity. Happy, they say, is the country which has not a history, but unfortunately a country which has no history does not excite very much interest in other countries. Burma has had to solve many problems, and there are many still to solve in connection with development, irrigation, revenue, education, crime, self-government, and a host of other subjects. But these are all purely domestic affairs of an unexciting nature that do not draw upon her the eyes of the world. I daresay that if Burma had done something desperate—if, for instance, she had adopted India's chequered course of political agitation—she would have been much better known to the world than she is. But happily her progress in the arts of civilization, though it has not been slow, has been peaceful, and consequently she has not attracted the attention which is due to her merits. As an illustration I may cite your own Association. The East India Association has been in existence for many years, and over a hundred papers on Indian subjects have been read to large audiences. But though Burma forms a considerable slice of East India,



being in fact little less in size than the combined areas of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and the United Provinces, only two papers on Burmese subjects have ever been presented. Do not suppose that I am attributing blame to your office-bearers for neglect of Burma. I know from experience how assiduous they are in roping diffident individuals into the service of the Association. The result seems rather to be due to want of self-assertion by Burma itself. There are many retired officers of the services of Burma and many merchants who could find much of interest in their experiences to relate to an audience in this country, but they appear to have imbibed the unobtrusive spirit of the country of their adoption.

Burma is the farthest east of the provinces of the Indian Empire. It stretches from Tibet in the north to far down the Malay Peninsula in the south, and from Assam and the Bay of Bengal in the west to China and Siam in the east. It has an area of 231,000 square miles, more than three times that of Bengal, but it has only about a fourth of the population of that province. The scenery of Burma is varied and very beautiful. There is a greenness in it which is restful and pleasing to the eye after the parched sombreness of India. The delta is, of course, flat, and its rice plains do not differ in appearance from rice plains elsewhere, except that they are ever and again relieved by picturesque stretches of forest-land. As one proceeds farther north the views become more charming. The rugged mountains, the hills clad with verdure, the broad rivers, the magnificent forests, the glittering pagodas, the cosy villages, and the gaily dressed crowds make most pleasing pictures. The coastal scenery is especially picturesque. There is no prettier spot on the whole earth than the Mergui Archipelago—

Whose islands on its bosom float  
Like emeralds chased in gold

The tourist to the East usually lands in Bombay, travels through the north of India first, and reserves Burma, if he

ever visits it at all, for the end of his tour. Consequently he generally experiences some discomfort from heat in his journey through Burma. He is reversing the natural order. He should begin with the south and gradually work north. His best plan, if he desires a good climate at all stages, is to sail from England in November direct for Rangoon—preferably by the Bibby Line which is as luxurious and comfortable as any P and O—and, having seen Burma, to take steamer for Calcutta or Madras and continue his tour northward.

The casual traveller will find much to interest him in Burma. The extent to which he can see the country depends, of course, on the time at his disposal. If he has only a fortnight to spare he can travel by rail from Rangoon to Myitkyna in the extreme north, halting for a couple of days at Mandalay and return by river, a delightful trip which can be done with every comfort. If he has more time on hand there are many opportunities of leaving the beaten tourist's track and gaining a larger experience of the country, its villages and its people. Thomas Cook and Son, Rangoon will provide him with itineraries. It will repay him to visit Maymyo, that most charming of hill stations where it is never too hot and never too cold and where one is not perched on a precipice as in Indian hill resorts but can drive, ride, and play polo or golf on level ground. If our tourist is a sportsman he can be sure of a good bag of snipe at various points on his route, or if he aspires to big game he may be able to secure an elephant or a bison, or a saing—a species of wild ox peculiar to Burma—but big-game shooting requires some previous arrangement. If he is a golfer he should, in passing through Rangoon, visit Mingaladoon, the best golf links in the East. If he has scholarly tastes he can explore the ancient relics of Buddhism at Pagan and other places. If he has no predilection in particular he will find in the bazaars and pagoda fêtes and indigenous sports, such as boat pony, and bullock races, and in the arts of the country, such as silver

work, gold work, lacquer work, wood carving, and silk weaving, much that will be new and interesting to him. And above all he will discover the charm of the people of Burma

Ten millions of a population of twelve millions are pure Burmese. The Burman is nearer to the Chinese than to the Aryan in type. He is short in stature but sturdy and well built, and has a fair complexion for an Oriental. The women are pleasing in figure and features and although a stranger from the West might hesitate to call them beautiful, he would readily admit that they are comely and animated and attractive, that they know how to dress tastefully, and that they have the manners of a lady.

With a fertile soil and a rainfall that never fails, life is easy for the Burman and he has no acute struggle for the means of existence. Consequently he is not given to hard work, unless the object interests him. He is generally a good-natured, careless, happy go-lucky individual who takes no trouble about the morrow. Men and women are well clad and they delight in gay colours and silk attire. There are few poor and no beggars. On the other hand, there is no aristocracy of wealth. There are no great landlords, no hereditary aristocracy and no tribal chiefs. One man is as good as another.

It is a common fallacy that the Burman is lacking in courage. The truth is that he is naturally brave, but makes no cult of bravery. He is not ashamed to admit fear or to run away from danger. In the years following the annexation of Upper Burma when the whole country was in the throes of rebellion the Burmese fought bravely, amidst every possible discouragement with flint-lock guns and soft iron swords against rifles and bayonets. It is only during the late war that the Burmese have become soldiers of our army. I have heard from a British officer who was present in Mesopotamia how the Burma Sappers and Miners threw a bridge across the DIALA under heavy fire, with their comrades falling around them, as steadily and skilfully as if

it had been an operation of ordinary parade. The Burman is lavish in expenditure, and is not given to hoarding money. Lightly come and lightly go is his fashion. Any wealth that he may have accumulated he spends in charity, builds a pagoda, or a monastery school, or a bridge, or a rest-house, or digs a well, for by works such as these he believes that religious merit will be credited to him. The amount thus spent every year in Burma is enormous. The Burman gives in charity far more in proportion to his wealth than any other people. Unfortunately he is very conservative in this respect, and cannot readily be persuaded to give for other than his stereotyped religious charities.

The Burmese are Buddhists by religion, and their form of Buddhism is very pure. They have no caste distinctions, no bigotry, and no enmity to other creeds. Religious persecution is unknown. There are no priests properly speaking, but there are thousands of monks, who live in the monasteries outside every village, and may be seen in the early morning begging their food on the streets. These monks are simply a community of anchorites searching for the truth. They never interfere in secular affairs, or in matters of state, or express an opinion on such. The reverence in which they are held by the people is very great. The Burman kneels while he addresses them, or when they pass him on the road.

There are no dark places in the lives of the Burmese as there are in the lives of other Orientals. All is open to the light of the day in their homes and their religion. The women mix freely and openly with the men and take their full share in social and domestic matters, just as their European sisters do. Nothing more free than a woman's position in the married state can be imagined. By law she is the mistress of her own property and her own self. She is gifted with a shrewd common sense, and has a very keen idea of what she can do best, and what things she should leave to her husband. She is an industrious housewife, and an excellent shopkeeper. Speaking broadly it may be said

that the retail trade of the country is in the hands of women.

The Burmese are a very adaptable people. They are not hidebound by custom, as many Oriental races are, and they are ever ready to take up new ideas when they think that any practical advantage can be obtained from them. For instance, the co-operative credit system, which was introduced to their notice only a few years ago, has readily gained acceptance, and it is now not rare to find villages which have co-operative banks managed by the cultivators themselves, and very efficiently, too. In Burma, as in England, a man feels no constraint to follow his father's trade. The son of a cultivator may be a cultivator, or a clerk, or a trader, or even a member of the provincial civil service, and need never fear that the lowly origin of his father will be cast up against him.

The monk is the schoolmaster of his village, but this is aside entirely from his sacred profession. Every man has attended a monastery school as a boy, and spent a part of his boyhood as pupil or acolyte. He has lived there with the monks, and learned from them the elements of education and a knowledge of his faith. There are very few Burmese who cannot read or write. For want of practice the art may be lost, but it has been acquired. The education is not very deep—reading and writing Burmese, very simple arithmetic, and a great deal of religion. Every Burman knows by heart large portions of the sacred books.

But while primary education, such as it is, is almost universal, higher education is very backward. No Burman has yet passed the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service. Burma has no University, though it is on the eve of obtaining one, and has hitherto been dependent for the higher learning on Calcutta University. It may be doubted whether the total of Bachelorships of Arts acquired by Burmans has yet amounted to four hundred. If the Bar be excepted, the Burmans who have qualified for the learned professions might be counted on one's fingers, and

even in the legal profession no Burman has gained any very marked pre-eminence.

In the times of the Burmese kings the central Government was weak, but local government was strong. From the governors in the provinces you came straight down to the village and its headman. Each village was a self-governing community. And so it remains as far as may be, under British rule. The headman holds his appointment from above as a matter of form, but he is chosen by his fellow-villagers as a matter of fact. Some of the principal taxes are assessed and collected by the villagers themselves. The Government merely fixes the total. The villagers then appoint assessors from among themselves, and decide how much each household should pay. A coolie might pay two rupees and a trader as much as fifty. So well is the assessment made that complaints against the decision of the assessors are unknown.

Though there is much to admire in the life and character of the people, the Burmese have all the faults of an excitable and impulsive race. They are inveterate gamblers and betting is the soul of every sport. They are as fond of a row as the Irish, and they are easily provoked to wrath and too ready to use the nearest weapon, be it a club or a knife, on the slightest provocation. They are especially prone to committing crimes of violence. Dacoity or gang robbery, is a national failing and is regarded by the young blood as a form of sport. Some of these dacoities are terrible crimes, involving not only murder, but the torture of old or young men and women for their treasure. When a Burman sees red he can be very savage. Another fault in a Burman is his immense conceit. He is willing to yield the palm to a European, but regards himself as far superior to any other Oriental. The Burman rustic is credulous and superstitious to a degree. Petty rebellion against the British Government is not an uncommon event, and it is always based on superstitious credulity. Any daring adventurer, by the exercise of some deceptive

sleight of hand which is attributed to magic, by the twisting into a meaning of his own of some obscure prophecy, and by the pretence that he is the reincarnation of a king, can win the confidence of hundreds of ordinarily sensible men who are ready to follow him in any mad enterprise of rebellion, fully persuaded that when the first shot is fired supernatural tigers and elephants will rush from the jungles and ensure victory. This is not an exaggerated picture. I can recall at least three occurrences during the time that I was Lieutenant-Governor of Burma between 1910 and 1915.

With many virtues and not a few vices the Burmese are a most likeable people. I have never met anyone who lived among them who has not felt their fascination. They are full of fun and laughter, and are ever hospitable and kindly. The stranger who visits their homes is always welcomed. I recall many pleasant hours spent under the banyan tree in villages where I was a complete stranger, conversing with the Burmans who sat around me, listening to their gossip and laughter—for there is never a crowd in Burma without laughter—and regaling myself with the milk and honey and cheroots which their hospitality had provided for my entertainment.

I will now turn to a different aspect of my subject—Burma as she appeals to the merchant and capitalist. I have time only to give the briefest review of her rich material resources in agriculture, forests, and minerals. Agriculture takes the first place. The plains of Burma comprise wet zones in the south and north, and a dry zone in the middle. The pre-eminence of Burma as a field for agriculture lies in the fact that the rainfall has never been known to fail. In the wet zones one agricultural year may be a little better than another, but there is never a bad year. In the dry zone the rainfall is more variable, and there are occasional seasons of short crops; but scarcity amounting to famine, which is so common in India, never occurs in Burma.

The annually cropped area of Burma exceeds fifteen million acres. Most of it depends solely on natural rainfall. Less than 9 per cent is irrigated, chiefly by large Government canals in the dry zone. More than two-thirds of the cropped area is under rice. Burma is the chief granary in the world for the export of rice. Burma rice forms the bulk of the Western world's supply, the annual export approaches three million tons. The methods of cultivation are primitive, and are exactly the same as they were hundreds of years ago. Even the use of manure is almost unknown except in the rice plant nurseries.

Other agricultural products are sesamum, millet, beans and pulses, ground nut, cotton, maize, wheat, gram, rape, chillies, sugar, tobacco, betel-nut, fruits of numerous kinds, and rubber. Most of these are capable of large expansion. Rubber is a comparatively new industry, the tapped area scarcely yet exceeding twenty thousand acres. In the south, especially in the Tenasserim division, the soil and the climate are very suitable to its growth, and when the country becomes better provided with means of communication large extensions may be expected.

From this brief summary it will be seen that agriculture in the plains of Burma has already made large strides, but that there is ample room for further progress. It is probable that the supply even of rice can be much increased by the use of manure, and the adoption of intensive methods of cultivation, while other agricultural products have a field open for expansion in area cultivated, selection of seed, introduction of new staples, and improved methods of cultivation. The uplands of Burma, chiefly the Shan States, are still for the most part virgin soil. They are suitable for wheat, potatoes, tea, and other products of a temperate climate, and present a large field for future enterprise.

Next to agriculture in importance come the forests of Burma, which are more remunerative than those of any other Indian province. They are the storehouse of teak,



from which the world's requirements of this valuable timber are supplied. They comprise 30,000 square miles of reserved forests and 120,000 square miles of unclassed forests, and, so far as teak is concerned, they are worked in accordance with the most approved scientific methods. Teak forests are exploited partly by departmental agency and partly by private enterprise. In the latter case the forests are leased to timber firms, which fell and extract trees selected and marked by the forest officer, and use them for the supply of their saw-mills.

During the war timbers other than teak have been exploited on a large scale for military purposes in India and Mesopotamia. There are enormous quantities of such timbers, for which a remunerative market has not yet been found, but which will probably find a sale in Europe when freights have been reduced to a normal rate. Indeed, many of these timbers may be more useful in the West than in the East, because the chief objection to their use in the East is that they are subject to depredation by white ants.

The forests of Burma contain much wealth in minor forest products, none of which has yet been largely exploited except cutch. Among minor forest products may be mentioned bamboos, canes, fibres, barks, wood oils, cardamoms, myrobalans, and lac. Vast quantities of gums, resins, dye-stuffs, and tanning materials are still waste products. The attention of the Forest Department has hitherto been directed mainly to teak. In other timbers and minor produce a large field is still open for the development of the forest wealth of Burma.

Burma has also immense mineral resources, much of which is potential, as it is still in the ground.

Will Burma ever become a gold field? It would be rash to predict that it will, but there are indications that it may. Gold is washed down by many streams, and there are some who make a precarious livelihood by extracting it from the silt. Dredging for gold was carried on by a com-

pany in the upper reaches of the Irrawaddy, and though commercial success was not attained the company had a vitality of twelve years, and not a few thousand ounces of gold was won. An attempt was made to win gold from quartz, which was abandoned after the extraction of 1,250 ounces. These are indications that there must be much gold in the province, but it has not yet been discovered in remunerative quantities near the surface.

Coal, chiefly of inferior quality, is found in many places, but some of it, in localities at present commercially inaccessible has been reported by the geological survey as being about equal in quality to Raniganj coal.

Tin has for long been worked in the extreme south of Burma but, unfortunately, it occurs in a locality devoid of means of transport. It is believed that it will some day be worked with commercial success. Jade stone is found in considerable quantities in wild tracts in the extreme north of Burma, and is worked by native methods. It finds an unlimited market in China.

Rubies, spinels and sapphires of first-rate quality occur at Mogoke where the Ruby Mines Company carries on its work. The introduction of the artificial ruby which at a short distance is undistinguishable from the real stone, has militated against the company's success. Judging from the quotations of its shares on the Stock Exchange the company appears to be coming into a new era of prosperity.

Burma has immense wealth in petroleum. The annexation of Upper Burma in 1885 brought into prominence the oil wells of Yenangyaung which had long been worked by the Burmese by primitive methods that drew oil only from the higher strata. This field and others that have been discovered are now worked by British companies, and give an annual yield of 300,000,000 gallons.

Wolfram is found chiefly in Tavoy district and before the war the whole supply went to Germany, from which country all tungsten used in England was obtained. The war gave an impetus to its extraction, and in 1917 as much

as 4,000 tons was shipped to England. The Tavoy field produces one third of the world's output.

Silver, lead, and zinc are extracted from the Burma Corporation's mine at Bawdwin, which promises to be one of the big mining propositions of the world.

Of all these mineral products oil is the only one that has yet reached a great commercial success. But other mineral resources are very promising, though they are at present mainly in the prospecting stage of development.

The progress of commercial development in Burma is sorely retarded by the absence of adequate means of communication. Nature has given the province a fair complement of waterways, but to serve an area nearly twice the size of the United Kingdom she has only 1,600 miles of railway. Her deficiency in roads is even more marked. The total length of roads is put down on paper as only 2,000 miles and most of these are not worthy of the name, and are fit only for bullock cart traffic. Burma has hitherto been the Cinderella of Indian provinces, uncared for by the distant Government of India who have turned a deaf ear to her requests that a larger share of her revenues should be devoted to her own development. The first requirement of the province is more railways and an adequate system of roads to carry the produce to the railways and rivers. The lack of transport facilities is a deterrent to the influx of capital, without which the great potential resources of Burma cannot be developed. She may be expected to have a great commercial future when the Government of India wake up to the fact that in a country rich in material resources expenditure on communications is as productive of wealth as any other outlay of capital.

A lecture on Burma confined to a limit of forty minutes must necessarily be an incomplete production. I have been able only to sketch some prominent features of the province and its principal race of inhabitants. My hope is that I may have induced some of you to seek a deeper knowledge of an interesting country and a delightful

people I will conclude with a word on constitutional reform, a subject which is of considerable interest to the province at the present time

Burma was excluded from the Indian Reform Scheme for the reasons that her people are in a different stage of political development, and that as yet the desire for elective institutions had not arisen. A promise, however, was given in the Montagu-Chelmsford report that Burma should have an opportunity of participating in the reforms so far as they were applicable to her circumstances. This promise awakened the national pride. It was felt that Burma could not be contented to remain in a condition of tutelage while other provinces were obtaining a large measure of independence. It also aroused considerable apprehension. It was feared that if the opportunity were not seized, Burma might come to be ruled by an Indian Government largely controlled by Indian politicians. Perhaps the latter was the more powerful influence, for Burmans have always been strongly averse to having Indians placed in authority over them.

There are not a few reasons why the path to self government may be expected in the long run to be smoother in Burma than in India. I have mentioned some of these in describing the character of the Burmese. Burma has no caste system and no religious cleavage. Her monastic institutions ensure the diffusion of a limited type of primary education. Her people readily adapt themselves to new conditions and are not hidebound to custom. Her women are free and untrammelled. The masses are intelligent and live up to a high standard of comfort. The people are so homogeneous that practically a single language will carry one throughout the country.

Notwithstanding these favourable conditions, Burma is at present far behind India in fitness for self governing institutions. In India the demand of the educated classes for representative self government has been agitated for more than fifty years, which has resulted in a considerable

development of political education In Burma, until the publication of the Reform report, no Burman had ever dreamed of self-government for his country, nor had any indication been given that even the intelligentsia desired it Political education in Burma is absolutely non-existent In India the educated classes, though not forming a large proportion of the total population are numerous I have already commented on the backwardness of general education in Burma The standard of higher education is much lower in Burma than in India The educated classes, such as they are are very few in number, and most of them are in Government service, and therefore ineligible for the field of politics for almost the sole object of education among the Burmese hitherto has been to obtain an appointment in the Services There are English newspapers in Burma edited and managed by Englishmen but the Burman Press has been entirely vernacular Until constitutional reform was mooted, it confined its attention to religious matters, and contained no criticism of the action of Government Not even in local public affairs have Burmans hitherto shown any interest In respect of political development and general education the intelligentsia of Burma are at least fifty years behind the intelligentsia of India

These are the considerations which the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Reginald Craddock, had in view when he formulated his scheme for the first step to self-government in Burma It gives a large measure of local self government to both urban and rural tracts, provides a legislative assembly, on which all classes communities, and interests are represented, mostly by election and partly by nomination introduces all urban ratepayers and almost all rural taxpayers to the vote, and associates the people with the Executive Government by the appointment of nominated non-official chairmen to preside over boards for the conduct of business The effect of the scheme, if it comes into operation, will be to give to the representatives of the people a considerable influence, but no greater actual

power, in shaping the policy of Government than was given by the Morley-Minto reforms in the most advanced provinces. The popular assembly will, in its first stage, be a school in which the art of politics may be learned, rather than an authority exercising any direct power of self-government. The scheme is a tremendous advance on all that is past. I believe that it satisfies the elders in Burma, but it by no means meets the aspirations of the Young Burma party, who ask for at least as large a measure of reform as has been given in the most advanced of Indian provinces.

In what shape the scheme will emerge from the Government of India and the Secretary of State has not yet been determined. I do not blame Young Burma for its aspirations. It is in the essence of politics that there can be no progress unless there is an advance party asking for more than can be immediately granted. But wiser heads will reflect that there is danger in inordinate haste. It requires no great measure of education to exercise a vote, but if a party is to be entrusted with powers of government there must be in it a considerable leaven of men who possess general education and political experience. It is in this respect that Burma is at present behind India in its fitness for self-governing institutions. Burma has a hopeful future in the path of reform, but she has a long leeway to make up, and the initial pace must necessarily be slower than in India.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Lancashire Room, 7a, Tothill Street, Westminster, on Monday, February 9, 1920, a paper was read by Sir Harvey Adamson, KCSI, LL.D., entitled "Burma." Sir Frederick W. R. Iyer KCSI, occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington CMC CCIE, Sir Lancelot Hare, KCSI, CIE, Sir Frank C. Gates, KCIE, CSI, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir George W. Shaw, CSI, Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. A. Porteous, CIE, Mr. H. Darlington, CII, Mr. N. C. Sen OBE, General H. A. Iggulden, CIE, Lady Kensington, Lady Simeon, Mr. S. S. G. Viran, Captain Cox, Mr. P. V. Guiry, Mr. A. Eggar, Miss Vertue, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Lieut. Colonel G. V. Holms, Mr. Khin Maung Yin, Mr. K. M. Gyee, Colonel F. S. Terry, Colonel Des Vaux, Miss Des Vaux, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Sewell, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mrs. Slater, Miss McNauthy, Miss Lambert, Mr. H. L. Leach, Miss R. Shaddick, Mr. C. Leo Parker, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Miss Gordon, Mr. J. W. Parry, Lieutenant J. P. B. Jeejeebhoy, RAF, Mr. B. Thein, Mr. C. W. Dunn ICS, Miss Slater, Mr. Bonser, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Gibbs, Miss Daly, Mr. N. C. Daruwalla, Mr. Keene, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Stevenson Howell, Mrs. White, The Rev. W. I. Broadbent, Mr. W. Frank, Mr. W. Kerr, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said it was hardly necessary for him to introduce the Lecturer, as he expected he must be known personally to most of those present, and certainly by name to all. He had kindly consented to read a paper on 'Burma,' and he was sure the paper would be most interesting, as few people knew Burma and its people as well as Sir Harvey did, he having spent a good many years in the Province and knew it from end to end.

The paper was then read, being received with great enthusiasm.

The CHAIRMAN: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you have all listened with great pleasure to the paper, and we must all be glad that the Lecturer has been induced to abandon the unobtrusiveness of the people of Burma and to come forward and read this paper. I am only sorry that he felt obliged to curtail his paper so as to bring it within the limits of forty minutes, for we should all have been pleased to hear much more. As for myself, I cannot claim to have the intimate knowledge of Burma that Sir Harvey has. I only went to Burma in 1866, very much against my own wish, for I was persuaded that Burma was a very unhealthy country, and that I should probably never be well there, but I managed to remain in

Burma for seventeen years, and I was much better in health there than I was in India. I do not think the climate of Burma has had any deleterious effect on me. We must remember that Burma is a very recent acquisition of the Government of Great Britain. It was not till 1826 that we first got a footing in Burma, when we annexed the Province of Arakan and the greater part of Tenasserim, it was not till 1852 that we annexed the Province of Pegu, and it was not till 1866 that we annexed Upper Burma. When I first went to Burma the country was very much disturbed, and I spent out of the first year I was in Burma no less than nine months in accompanying military columns which were endeavouring to restore peace to the country. We were not at that time at all popular in Upper Burma, and I remember one of the high officials of the ex Government telling me that He said he did not know whether we English thought we were wanted in Upper Burma, but if we did we were certainly very wrong. I told him that I thought that in any case the English Government was better than the Burmese Government had been in Upper Burma, where nobody's life or property had been safe for some time. He said "Yes, it is quite true your Government is better than ours, but then our Government was our Government and not yours, and we were an independent kingdom, and now we are nothing but a Province of India," which he considered a very low condition indeed. Well, Upper Burma was very quickly reduced to a state of peace, and I think within five years from its annexation Upper Burma was as peaceful as, if not more peaceful than, Lower Burma, and, as we have all seen, during the late war the Burmans have come forward with the most wonderful loyalty to assist the Government in their need. (Hear, hear) I always thought myself, and I was always told, that the Burmans were not a military people, and certainly there were some reasons for entertaining that idea but we found we were quite wrong, and that the Burmans have a military genius, and can easily be brought to submit to discipline. They have distinguished themselves in many fields, not only as fighting forces but as labour units, so much so that even the Chins, who used to be nothing but savages, came forward to help us. I lately saw in London certain members of the Chin Labour Battalion, amongst whom was a Jemadar, and I was surprised to hear him speaking Burmese, and on asking him, "How did you come to learn to speak Burmese?" he replied, "You were my teacher." I said, "In what way?" and he said, "Well, you sent me to ten years imprisonment in the Rangoon Gaol, and there I learned Burmese, and now I am a Jemadar, and I am very much obliged for the instruction you gave me." Then he said, "The ten years' penal servitude I got was an act of great kindness, because my original sentence was a sentence of death, which you commuted to ten years"—so one sometimes does good without knowing it.

I quite agree with what the Lecturer has said about the want of communications in Burma. When I first went to Upper Burma we had no roads and no railways or anything, except the Irrawaddy flotilla, and I assure you that in those days Sir Charles Bernard constantly represented the want of roads and railways to the Government of India, but he had



the greatest difficulty in even getting sanction for an extension of the railway from Toungoo to Mandalay. I was associated with him in those days, and I know how reluctant the Government of India was to allow any extension of the railways. The Government of India always kept us short of money in Burma, and although I frequently explained to them that the money spent in Burma would bring in very large interest it was very difficult to persuade them to even find the money which was an absolute necessity, and we are at present, as the Lecturer has pointed out, still very short of communications in Burma. You cannot develop a new country without money, and although Burma has developed very rapidly, it would have developed very much more if the Government of India had been more liberal, and not only would they have reaped a great reward from any expenditure in Burma in the shape of very large interest, but they would have had in the country more Europeans, who would have visited the country in search more particularly of minerals, for the minerals of Burma, I am sure, will repay any explorers. We have all seen what the oil-fields have been, and I know myself that there is a great deal of gold in Burma, for when I was there I went on a tour up the river Chindwin, and all the cultivators on the banks brought their revenue to me in gold, so much so that the sailors on board the ship made a good deal of money by exchanging rupees for gold, which we were told was washed from the sands; and if gold could be found from the sands, there must be places where it comes from, and I am sure there is a great deal of gold in that neighbourhood. There are also silver mines in the Shan States, which had fallen into disuse in my time because there was not enough silver found to pay the expenses, and also there was no sale for the lead which was mingled with the silver. I trust that the Government of India has by this time recognized the possibilities of Burma, and will do more to develop the Provinces.

Now I think the only thing which remains for me to deal with is the question of self government. Sir Harvey has told you his views on that subject, and I heartily agree with him in what he said. I believe that the Burmans, so far as the ordinary peasant and cultivator and mechanic goes, are better educated up to a certain point than the same class of people in India. Of course, my experience of India is rather remote, but when I was in the Punjab there were very few people who could read and write, whereas in Burma everyone can read and write, and if there is any measure of self-government in Burma, I think that the women should certainly have a vote, because the women take part in all the business in Burma, and in many cases you may say the most prominent part. Many Burmans, when they used to come to see me when I was in Burma on matters of business, often asked if they could bring their wives with them, because their wives understood the business better than they did, and that was generally the case, because the women as a rule were very keen business women who took a great interest in their husbands' work. In fact, I well remember in the early days some Burmese judges liked to have their wives on the Bench with them, and I think the wives did the

principal part of the work. But, lest you may think that Burma is a paradise for the women, I ought to mention the fact that the women do the principal part of the hard work as well. Going up the river in a steamer, you find that the women load the wood, and the men sit on the banks smoking cigars, so that there is something perhaps not quite so favourable in the life of the women there as one might be led to suppose. I think, as far as Burma goes, that they should have self-government of some sort, but as the Burmans are quite distinct in race and language and in religion from the Indians, I do not see why they should not have a model of their own, and, as the Lecturer has told you, the Burmans would intensely resent any interference by Indians in their affairs, therefore why should they model their lives upon the Indian system, instead of adopting one of their own? I hope the Burmans will in time find what are called intellectuals, who will be able to take a part in the work of their administration, and that Burma will not be left behind in any way by India (Hear, hear, and applause.)

SIR FRANK GATES said that he renewed his recollections of the delightful Province of Burma with the greatest pleasure. The picture that had been drawn for them seemed delightful, but he remembered about twenty years ago meeting some friends who had just been reading "The Soul of a People," and who remarked to him how lucky he was to live in that delightful country amongst those delightful people, and he replied "Alas! Paradise has not yet descended upon earth." But, although Burma was not Paradise, still it was a very alluring and pleasant place, it had its drawbacks, but the people soon came to be beloved by those who dwelt amongst them.

The Lecturer had told them that the art of criticizing government was still in its infancy in Burma. That did not make the work of a Government official any less pleasant. Still, he remembered a Burmese newspaper, which had a brief existence some thirty years ago, in which criticism of the Government did take place, and one phrase which appeared in it he well remembered, and that was to the effect that the performances of the Chief Secretary to the Government in those days were like those of a buffalo trying to play a harp (Laughter.) However, such was the undeveloped political sense of the Burmans that the newspaper ceased for want of support. He thought the really important point about Burma's development at the moment was whether it should go on with India or should be separate. He was not one of those who thought that the connection with India had been a disadvantage to Burma on balance. Of course, the disadvantages were patent—the difficulty of getting money, and the liability to have projects overruled by a distant authority. On the other hand, if Burma had been a Crown Colony, with no powerful neighbour near by under an obligation to render assistance, he doubted if its progress would have been so rapid. The Government of India was a large organization, supplied with experts in various branches, and, what was perhaps most important, especially in the beginnings of things, it was possessed of the force able to restore law and order. It must be

remembered that the initiation of order in Upper Burma was rendered possible by the services of the Indian Army and the Indian military police. If the Government of India in its new development still retained a shape which rendered possible Burma's continued connection with it, he would rejoice, but if the changes were going to eventuate in a Government of India largely shaped by caste prejudice and by such Oriental modes of thought as were as alien from the Burman as from the Englishman, then he thought it would be time for Burma to separate.

He need not expatiate on the healthfulness of Burma, because they had seen the Lecturer and also the Chairman. The latter had been able to spend seventeen years in this country after seventeen years spent in Burma, and many years in India before that. So they would agree that the climate of Burma could not be deadly to the European. Of course, it varied, Burma had several climates. With regard to the absence in Burma of large landed estates, that was only because Burma was in an earlier state of development. The large landed estates existed, but whether they would be permanent or not remained to be seen. Fortunately, the law of inheritance in Burma was such as to oppose obstacles to the persistence of a large estate. If the disadvantages of large landed estates were avoided, so also were the advantages missed, the result being that there was no class in Burma possessed of inherited wealth, and therefore with leisure, able to devote itself to the service of the public in a way which might be expected from a public spirited leisured class. Thus the development of Burma was likely to be on lines somewhat different from that of India and different from that of any Western country. They would all follow with interest the future development of the Province, and would all pray that the result might be such as to continue the happiness of the Burman at the same time as he proceeded with his education, both literary and political. (Hear, hear)

Mr. K. M. YIN said he would like to say a few words because he was a Burman. With regard to self government Sir Harvey had said that Burma was rather young for politics. He was prepared to admit that they were not so advanced as the Indians were in that connection, but he did not admit that she was so backward as not to have self government. The Lecturer had stated that India had been agitating for fifty years, resulting in considerable political development and education. It was true, as had been pointed out, that the Burman was a quiet sort of individual, but they certainly were sufficiently educated to the idea that they ought to have self government. The Burmese had been controlling their own affairs since the time of the Burmese kings, under what was known as the village system, where the headman had full control over their affairs.

It had also been stated that the standard of higher education in Burma was much lower than in India. Of course, that might be so when they considered the English language and English ideas, but Burma had an education of her own, they had their own literature, and in their own way they were fairly well educated. With regard to the newspapers, there were two English papers which more or less catered for the English

people there ; but of late there had been one Burmese paper started, called the *Burma Observer*, which catered for the younger generation who could read English. The Lecturer stated on page 15 of the lecture - "Not even in local public affairs have Burmans hitherto shown any interest." In past years, true, they had not, because they had been satisfied with what had been done, but they were now beginning to assert themselves in order not to be left in the background, and they were all hoping that the Government and Mr. Montagu would consider their case. With regard to the statement on page 16 of the lecture with reference to the elders and the aspirations of Young Burma, it was true there were two parties now in Burma. The Young Burma party wanted more reforms, and they did not see why they should not have the same reforms when they had been given to other Provinces. Many Provinces of India were not so advanced as Burma was, but they were promised better reforms than Burma had been promised. He hoped, however, they would be allowed as wide a measure of self government and as large reforms as other Indian Provinces would have, though they did not wish to have Indians placed over them. (Hear, hear)

Mr N. C. DARNAWALLA said he certainly thought the aspirations of the Burmans should be met, and that they should be allowed to work out their own salvation, but he did not agree with the reason which had been suggested—namely, that the Burman should not be ruled by people who would perhaps be prejudiced by the caste system. That argument did not appeal to him at all, but apparently many English people did entertain the idea that when India was ruled by her own people she would be to a large extent governed by the caste system. Few people seemed to realize how during the last five or ten years India had made great strides in the direction of progress, and that there were many people in India absolutely untrammelled with the caste system. People who knew the Parsies knew how highly educated they were, but when they were talking about unity and a real brotherhood of all Indians they should not say such things. He certainly thought the Burmans should be allowed to carry on their own Government. India was already very large, and, brothers as they were, they did not want to take in the Burmans as well against their will, but he did agree with the argument which had been brought forward that on account of Oriental ideas the Burmans would not like to be ruled by Indians. He quite thoroughly agreed that they should be allowed to govern themselves when the time was ripe for them to do so.

Mr K. M. GYEE said that, speaking about self-government for Burma, certainly they had not acquired much party feeling as yet, but he thought that the Lecturer was not well informed about the question of the elders and the Young Burma party. There was no question of party spirit in Burma as yet—they had only one idea, and that was for the benefit and uplifting of Burma, they were termed Young Burma because they were seeking more reforms than they had been promised. The present Lieut.-Governor had put forward a scheme of reforms as being the most suitable for the Province at present, to which the Young Burma party were opposed,

and they had sent a deputation to England to put their ideas before the Secretary of State, and Mr Montagu has promised them a separate Bill. The elders were nothing but a handful of uneducated people, and, although they had no prejudice against them, they (the elders) were certainly always subservient to their so-called elder party. They might be right or wrong, but the Young Burma party always fought for the right, and all they asked for was the same measure of reform as had been promised to India. The present suggested scheme of reform fell far short of that. The headmen of the villages were practically servants of the Government, and, although they were in practice elected, the Deputy Commissioners had power to appoint and to remove them from office. They do not say they wished to be separated from India, but what they wanted was real reform, and not another form of Sir Reginald Craadock's type.

LORD LAMINGTON said that, as the Chairman of the East India Association, it was a special pleasure to him to hear the lecture that afternoon. In these days, with rates and taxation amounting to 13s. in the pound, he had often discussed to what country he should retire when he was squeezed out, and he thought, after listening to the paper, he should select Burma. He could not imagine a less harassing existence than that which he had heard described.

With regard to the question of the future constitution of Burma, he would like to congratulate the two Burmese speakers on their command of the English language, and what they had just said was extremely interesting. But if the description of the Lecturer was quite accurate, it was clear they would need to go forward with their representative institutions in a leisurely fashion, so as to be sure that what they did met with the general wish of the people. After all, although certain great Indian reforms had been promulgated, they had not yet seen them put into force, and they must display some caution in regard to any fresh forms of Government put forward by the Burmese themselves.

He could not say much about Burma personally, but he had listened with great pleasure to the descriptions of the country. He had been in Siam and the Shan States, and he recognized many of the qualities of those people appertaining to the Burman, particularly the literary qualities and the qualities of the women-folk. He remembered the ladies did most of the business, even in the British houses of commerce there, and he agreed that when votes were given the ladies ought to be included. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel TERRY said, referring to what had been discussed regarding the prominent position taken by the women folk in Burma and their business-like aptitude, that as the women of this country had so many greater advantages and greater responsibilities, he would like to suggest that they might well try to become equally as business-like as the women of Burma. (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said that he was fortunate in having very little criticism to answer. The only criticism was that raised by the two Burmese gentlemen, whom he was glad to have seen on their feet, but he

thought they had rather misunderstood what he had said. His own wish was that they should eventually have in Burma as full a measure of self-government as that given to any province of India, for on the whole he thought the people were more democratic than those of any province of India he had known. The difference between himself and the two Burmese gentlemen was that they wanted to have the whole thing at once, whereas he thought it better that there should be a period of education in business and public affairs, such as they would undoubtedly get from the councils which Sir Reginald Craddock proposed to appoint, and then after a few years they would be much better fitted for a forward step in self-government. He feared that if they went too fast at first they would only come to grief. Another criticism was that under Sir Reginald's scheme the councils would be filled with headmen. It would take too long to thoroughly explain this point. Briefly, there may have been some ground for this criticism as applied to Sir Reginald Craddock's original scheme, in which a member of the Circle Board was to be appointed for each village. But in his final scheme members of the Circle Board are to be appointed for groups of villages, and he (the Lecturer) thought the chances were that the Circle Boards would have a great many members, who were not headmen at all, and he also thought that not very many headmen would ever reach the Legislative Assembly. The members of the Circle Boards, who were the constituency for the Legislative Assembly, would probably choose men of higher education and standing than the village headmen.

In conclusion, he would like to take the opportunity of inviting them to see a collection of objects of art which had been recently brought over from Burma, and which were now to be seen in the Indian Galleries of the Imperial Institute. It was a collection which would well repay a visit (Hear, hear.)

On the motion of Sir F. Gates, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman for having presided over the meeting, and carried with acclamation.

The Chairman suitably replied to the vote of thanks, and the proceedings then terminated.

## THE PROSPECTS OF ZIONISM

BY D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., LITT.D.

THE capture of Jerusalem may be said to mark a stage in human progress. When the city was taken by the Christians in 1099, "the Moslems were massacred in the streets, in the houses; Jerusalem had no asylum for the conquered."\* When the less barbarous Moslems retook the city in 1187, the conqueror granted the inhabitants their lives, and allowed them to purchase their liberty at the rate of ten pieces of gold for the men, five for the women, and two for the children.† All the churches, except that of the Holy Sepulchre, were turned into mosques. When Lord Allenby entered the city, the rights of the inhabitants were respected, there was only greater security than before for each and all.

There is still room for hope that this laurel may remain untarnished. There is, however, cause for apprehension. Have the diplomatists here, too, committed themselves behind the backs of the inhabitants to a policy which will be inaugurated with bloodshed and rapine? To answer this question we must endeavour to discover the meaning of Zionism.

Now, much may be said in the language of poetry and devotion which occasions serious difficulty when it is regarded as commonplace prose. No harm results from speaking of "the inalienable heritage of Abraham" in the pulpit, at a prayer meeting, or at a Bible class; the purpose is edification, and this phrase very likely helps to compass it. But when it is used as a reason why Palestine should be handed over to the Jews, the services of the historian

\* Michaud, "Histoire des Croisades," i. 236. 1857.

† *Ibid.*, ii 58

and the jurist must be called in. The historian would reply that the land has in historic times (Abraham is pre-historic) been seized by a long series of nations by right of conquest, and that the governments of these nations have disposed of the land as they thought fit. If the Israelites claimed that they obtained it by God's gift, so did the Moslem conquerors and so, too, did the Franks, as the very title of the record *Gesta Dei per Francos* implies.

How a jurist would reply is not so certain. But if he admitted that a group of men had a right to a country because some two thousand years ago it was in the occupation of their ancestors, it is likely that he would require title-deeds and proofs of pedigree. Say that the Old Testament might count as the first—and an age which knows not of Moses but only of anonymous Elohist and Jahvist, could not admit this—where is the second? What evidence is there that any single Jewish family of to-day is lineally descended from the ancient Israelites? There is none.

Horace, Juvenal, and the Gospel, not far removed in date from either, speak of earnest and effective proselytism carried on by the Jews within the Roman Empire and the retention of the Jewish name for the seventh day of the week in some Romance languages strongly confirms their assertion. This proselytism seems to have been carried on into the third century of our era\*. That in its early centuries there was a Jewish kingdom in South Arabia is attested by an inscription, its subjects were doubtless mainly Arabs who had adopted Judaism. The great realm of the Khazars between the Black Sea and the Caspian, was Jewish for some two centuries, a contemporary writer records the conversion of the nation to Islam in A.D. 965. It is not credible that in such cases the change of the court religion involved that of all the subjects, doubtless large numbers remained Jews. Now, if any Jewish family possessed an authentic pedigree

\* Cf. Milman, "History of Christianity," II 158. Ed. 1908.



whereby it traced itself to ancient Judæa, on the supposition that such a descent gave a claim to possession of land, such family would have a claim. But since there are no Jewish pedigrees of this kind, no one knows how many centuries after the second exile the ancestors of any existing Jewish family adopted Judaism. There may be some families descended by the male line from the pre-Christian Israelites—there may be many, or there may be none. The claim of the modern Jews to Palestine is not therefore capable of being based on heredity, but on the theory that the maintenance of a particular cult constitutes a claim to the possession of land.

This, then, is the principle whereon the Zionist claim to Palestine is based. It is a dangerous one, for if religion gives a claim to a country, as a writer in the *Kaukab* observed, the Christians have also a claim to Palestine. St. Paul argues that the "offspring of Abraham" to whom the promise was made was Jesus Christ and no one else, and this is perhaps why the "History of the Crusades" constantly talks of Palestine as "the heritage of Jesus Christ." The Mohammedans, who suppose themselves to be followers of Abraham's religion, would put in their claim too. Hence it is far safer not to think of religious lineage. But, as has been seen, in the absence of authentic pedigrees, no one can say whether a particular Jew is descended from an Israelite, or some Arab, Italian, Khazar, etc., who at some time adopted Judaism. Dr. F. Bliss, than whom no one knows Palestine better, tells us that the pious orthodox Jews of Jerusalem regard political Zionism as folly, if not blasphemy. "God," they hold, "is to bring back the Jews in His own time and way without human plan or assistance."\* This belief has the advantage of rendering it unnecessary to pronounce on the unknowable. It is by no means desirable to humble the strains of either Jewish or Christian sermons and hymns wherein the glories of God's ancient people are extolled. From the practice

\* F. J. Bliss, "Religions of Syria," p. 322. 1912.

initiated or followed by such patriotic Jews as Mordecai (more correctly Marduki), Apollos, and Paul, of taking names which were either distinctively pagan or at least not Jewish, it might be inferred that those glories are more recognized within than outside the place of worship; the reason for which they conceal their faces is somewhat different from that of Moses. The glory of those who, *driven from one land, have founded a flourishing republic in another* has not been theirs. But even if their title to gratitude were something greater than the occasional production of a Joseph or a Nehemiah, of a man of letters or of science, it would not affect the question of their relation to Palestine.

Now Zionism must either mean something or nothing. If it means what it meant before the war, it is a matter which scarcely deserves the time of statesmen. During some thirty years a number of agricultural Jewish colonies were founded in Palestine, whose total population by 1914 amounted to some 11,000 persons;\* "the Turkish Government was by no means unfavourable to Jewish development in Palestine, and a change might very well be for the worse." These numbers do not appear very encouraging, though one enthusiast argues that the slower the progress, the surer it must be. The condition of the colonies is painted in roseate colours by Zionist writers, but other visitors are not in entire agreement. "It is an interesting commentary on the conditions of modern Palestine," says one very competent observer,† "that the only successful colonies of Jewish Zionists are in places like the plains of Sharon and Esdraelon and the highest part of Galilee, rather than in Judæa or Lower Galilee, the homes of their ancestors." Some other travellers give less favourable reports.‡ The figures given for 1894 are 5,672,§ in

\* A. M. Hyamson, "Palestine." 1917.

† E. Huntington, "Palestine and its Transformation" 1912.

‡ See H. Rux, "Tent and Testament," p. 112. 1907

§ Cuinet, "Syrie, Liban, et Palestine," p. 594.

twenty years, then, these numbers just doubled, the rate of yearly increase being not much more than 250, including natural increase and immigration. Of such figures statesmen can take no notice, and, indeed, Mr Hyamson says plainly "The possibility of an independent Jewish state cannot be discussed in the course of the present generation, or at any date which either the writer or the reader can expect to see"\* He adds that 'local autonomy is all that the Jews of Palestine (does this mean the Zionists?) ask—the development of the system which has been already inaugurated' He does, indeed, foresee a time when the population of Palestine will become overwhelmingly Jewish, but it is difficult to see why this should come about. If the Jews increase, the Moslems and Christians are not likely to stop increasing.

Zionism, then, as Mr Hyamson in his exceedingly sensible work interprets it means nothing about which statesmen need trouble themselves, the Jewish question in Europe, if one exists, is scarcely affected by the annual settlement of 250 Jews in Palestine. With other exponents it means something very much more considerable. Such an exponent is Mr Sokolow, whose 'History of Zionism,' just published, has commendatory letters from Mr Balfour, Lord Bryce and the late Sir M Sykes. He is an enthusiast who is perpetually mounting the pulpit, and his project is far more likely to excite enthusiasm, but also vastly more dangerous than Mr Hyamson's. It amounts to nothing less than the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state, within which only Judaism should be practised. He quotes with approval the words of one Mr. Elim H. d'Avigdor. "He wished rather that they should go to a country that was once Israel's homestead, where the Sabbath would be the Sabbath of all, and where Yom Kippur would be the day of abstention from food throughout the country."† This must mean that everyone should observe Saturday as a day of rest, and everyone

\* "Palestine," p 279 1917.

† "History of Zionism," i 239

fast on the Day of Atonement. Another enthusiast is quoted with approval for the doctrine that the true way to secure the rights of wandering Israelites (*i.e.*, Jews not in Palestine) is to establish a Jewish state, capable of guarding their interests as the rights of Englishmen abroad are guarded by the British Government \* In the face of the figures that have been quoted Mr Sokolow asserts that the Jewish masses will go to Palestine as soon as they have the opportunity of doing so †

It must, indeed, be obvious that if Palestine be left to itself the government will not be Jewish, because the Jews are in a minority, they are somewhere between a seventh and a tenth of the whole population. If Palestine be treated as a British possession, the Jews will be no better off there than elsewhere in the British Empire—*i.e.*, they will enjoy the full privileges of the citizens of a free country. But if they are to enjoy special privileges in Palestine, such as the right to substitute Saturday for the Friday or the Sunday as the weekly day of rest, and to enforce fasting on the inhabitants two parties have to be considered, first the present inhabitants of the country, and next the Jews whom it is proposed to despatch thither in masses.

With regard to the former, they reject the idea of being subjected to Jews or being swamped by Jewish immigration as an unprecedented outrage. Some voices may have been raised in Syria in favour of the French invasion, but all Moslem and Christian communities are united against the Zionist plan. The American commissioners heard protests against it on every side, and a protest has been sent to the Peace Conference.

Certainly some of the Zionists have taken into consideration the present inhabitants of Syria. The present writer was at a banquet given in honour of the taking of Jerusalem, which was addressed by two Zionist orators. One of them, of some fame as a novelist, proposed that the present

\* *Ibid.*, I. 244, *cf.* 242

† *Ibid.*, 246

inhabitants "should be bought out, and told to go to Arabia. This scheme might serve as an expedient in a romance, but scarcely elsewhere.

The other speaker asserted that Palestine by improved cultivation could easily maintain seven millions of inhabitants in lieu of the million or thereabouts whom it at present feeds. This is entirely against the conclusions of Mr Ellsworth Huntington, Professor of Geography in Yale University, who maintains that the decline in the population of the country is due not to misgovernment, but to a decline in the rainfall and that even the raids of the nomads on the settled population are due to this cause, and vary inversely with the rain. Nothing that man is yet able to do would enable the people of Beersheba, and still less of Ajgeh, to raise good crops every year. Rain is the missing element. The people of Ziza and Kastal showed a commendable degree of initiative and energy when they came to the ruins to settle. No amount of energy on their part could have raised a crop in 1909 and no amount of engineering skill could enable them to obtain water for irrigation except at a cost a hundred-fold too great. No Arab raids or difficulties occasioned by the government have interfered with Beersheba and Ziza in recent times. If these are not enough turn to Jerash. By universal consent few races excel the Circassians in industry and energy. For over a quarter of a century they have lived at Jerash, under special favour of the government and with large exemptions from taxation. Yet what have they accomplished? If the population should increase sufficiently to fill only one of the theatres many of the inhabitants would find themselves face to face with starvation.

The immigrant Jews, if in numbers sufficient to make Palestine a Jewish state, would have to do as their supposed ancestors under Joshua—make a clearance of the present inhabitants. In Joshua's time there was no international

\* "Palestine and its Transformation," p. 282. 1912

morality, and the immigrants relied on supernatural aid. In our time the latter is unlikely to be furnished, and where the nations have nothing to fear, they on the whole support morality. This last principle would not be in favour of the forcible expropriation of the inhabitants of Palestine or of any infringement of their rights in favour of the Jews. A Jewish invasion of Palestine would not, like the French invasion of North Syria, be backed by machine-guns, it would be fiercely resisted, and lead to massacres and all other horrors.

In the second place the Jews throughout the world have something to say in the matter. As early as 1840 'a noble Lord, opposed to Her Majesty's Ministers,' issued a questionnaire containing the interesting query 'Would the Jews of station and property be inclined to return to Palestine, carry with them their capital, and invest it in the cultivation of the land if by the operation of law and justice life and property were rendered secure?' \* Mr Sokolow omits to state whether any reply was ever received to this question, other than *solventur visu tabula*. In his opinion those who are in favour of the return should force their views on the others. "It did not matter to the Lovers of Zion (name of a Zionist society) that some wealthy Jews did not wish for the national rebirth, they simply emulated careful and prudent physicians, who when they visit their patients do not ask them what they like best, but having carefully studied the ailments of their patients order them to take what they deem most necessary for them even though it be not pleasing or acceptable. † How well the student of history knows this simile! Other people do not approve our schemes, and so by well meant cutting or burning we shall try to remove the disorder.

Now the objection of numerous Jews to the ventilation of schemes of this sort is apparently very sound. What the Great War has proved—though it should never have been doubted—is that a man cannot be a citizen of two

\* "History of Zionism, i 127

† *Ibid*, 246

countries. If an independent Jewish state were established in Palestine (or elsewhere), every member of the Jewish community should have the right to decide whether he intends to remain a Frenchman, German, American, Englishman, etc., or whether he is to become a Judæan, and therefore an alien in any country but Judæa. Nations have no gratitude. Judæa might be reconstituted to-day by Great Britain and a few years later side with Great Britain's enemies. Italian streets had been named after President Wilson when the United States under his presidency entered the war; he gave some unpalatable advice to Italy, and the streets were renamed. Doubtless those members of the community on whom the citizenship of one country or another has been conferred, and who have shared its joys and sorrows, borne its burdens and enjoyed its privileges, have no desire to throw it away. But this they must certainly do if they become citizens of another state. Few things seemed to the present writer a juster cause of gratification to the English in India than the way wherein some Indians boasted of English glories—of "what we did at Waterloo" and the like. Allowed to feel pride in the deeds of the mother country, they might be relied upon to co-operate in swelling that splendid record. England by giving them a place in her empire had provided them with some better causes of pride than the myths of Rama and Arjuna. And similar is the case of Jews who have been adopted by Great Britain and the other European nations and by the United States. They enjoy the lustre of a past to which their own has nothing comparable.

Those who think the Biblical history of the Jews glorious can either not have read the Bible or must disbelieve it; it represents them as the most hopeless community that ever existed. They had only to obey a certain code and every law of nature was suspended in their favour: the sun would stop if they wanted it, the sea would dry up, their enemies would be miraculously de-

stroyed, only obey that code they would not. Only those who (like the school of Wellhausen) regard their historians as liars and their prophets as charlatans credit the Biblical Jews with possessing the normal amount of wisdom and virtue. Their part in ancient history was so modest that the inquisitive Hellenes never heard their name before Alexander's time. Their post Biblical history consists mainly of a series of expulsions from countries where they had settled, however culpable their ejectors may have been, it is impossible to avoid the inference that they failed to make themselves beloved. A very different record is recalled to the mind by the mention of such names as the British Empire, the United Netherlands, the United States. Eminent members of the Jewish community, who have acquired wealth, power or fame in a world which gives nothing for nothing are unwilling to throw away their acquired inheritance while also unwilling to break with the past of their race which if by no means glorious, has much antiquarian interest. Of these some, like the late Baron Hirsch, have discouraged the Zionist movement none it would appear have encouraged it save as an eleemosynary measure. They know too that a state governed by the Law of Moses would be a hopeless anachronism, such as no civilized man could endure, whereas a Jewish state which abrogated the Law of Moses would have no reason for existing.

That more voices were not raised by these able men in deprecation of the pæans of triumph which Mr Balfour's letter drew forth is doubtless due to the unpopularity which sensible forethought usually brings to those who exercise it. Mr Sokolow, however, records assertions made on the occasion which he ought not to have left uncontradicted. The Right Hon George N Barnes a member of the War Cabinet in a speech then delivered, said 'Palestine has for three hundred years been under the tyranny of Ottoman oppression \* We have just heard the evidence of Mr

\* "History of Zionism, II 134



Hyamson that the Turkish Government was by no means unfavourable to the Jewish colonists. "The Turkish authorities first set up order in the towns, then in the provinces,' is a judgment of Ottoman rule in Palestine recorded by a high authority \* It is true that the Rev Dr. Jessup† declares that the Zionist movement was antagonized by the Ottoman Government and by the fellahin of the rural districts of Palestine, but as he adds that the Rabbis, embittered by the fiery persecution against the Jews in Russia and other parts of Europe, are extremely hostile to Christianity in every form, his evidence, which in any case extends only to the immigrant Jews, cannot very well be adduced. The fact is that the Ottoman Government (like most Islamic states) befriended the Jews when everyone else was against them. When the fanatics commenced that ruin of Spain whence it has not recovered to this day, and expelled the Jews, they were received "not unwillingly" by the Ottoman Government, under whose ægis they rose, both at the capital and elsewhere, to opulence and importance. "The tyranny of Ottoman oppression" is unknown to persons acquainted with the condition of Palestine, who fully recognize the defects of Turkish rule. In what appears to be the work in our language on Palestine, which is based on the profoundest acquaintance with the country,‡ the references to the Turkish Government are ordinarily appreciative. If the people are split up into little parties, who cannot in consequence combine against oppression or to secure better government, he admits that this is no part of the policy of the Turks, who indeed have exercised their authority to prevent fights between factions § Evidence to the same effect could be cited from foreign works by men well acquainted with the country. But, in

\* Ph Baldensperger, 'The Immovable East,' p 292 1913

† "Fifty three Years in Syria," II, 657. 1910

‡ Rev C T Wilson, "Peasant Life in the Holy Land" 1906

§ Pp 78 and 80

any case, the service rendered by the Ottoman Government to the Jews in their most evil days should not be entirely forgotten

Zionism, as expounded in Mr Sokolow's history, is to be dreaded on a variety of grounds. It transfers from the place of worship to the market-place ideas which, though suitable and edifying in the former, are incongruous and subversive of order in the latter. It threatens the rights of those Israelites who are happily domiciled in Europe and America. It menaces Palestine with civil war. It presages the tarnishing of the chief laurel won by Great Britain in the great struggle. It involves gross ingratitude to the Moslem powers who stood by the Jews when Europe was under the dominion of fanatical sacerdotalism. "At times of national crisis visionaries are of all men the most dangerous, intent on the pursuit of unattainable ideals, they shut their eyes to realities, and instead of facing danger, prefer to ignore it." \*

\* Mrs Arthur Webster "The French Revolution" p. 57 1919

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC

BY GRIGOR AGABABIAN

THE Peace Treaties signed at Versailles and St Germain impose upon Germany and Austria a regime in regard to ports, waterways and railways that will mark an important stage, almost a revolution, in international relations. By that regime, based on the principle of the League of Nations the Allies secured for the small nations of Eastern Europe free transit across the territories of their former oppressors, who otherwise would undoubtedly force them to accept the most onerous conditions.

In no lesser degree than to Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Yugo-Slavia, freedom of traffic is indispensable to the economic independence of the Armenian Republic a state without free access to the sea and surrounded by neighbours that are almost all enemies.

In regard to transit, exportation, and importation, this republic, unlike its Slav sisters, is still under the old régime of the force and good pleasure of Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbeidjan.

Apart from Turkey, whose frontier is completely closed to the Armenian Republic the States of Georgia and Azerbeidjan, although they have not entirely barricaded their frontiers or closed the sole railway-line connecting across their territories Armenia with the Black Sea and the Caspian, have nevertheless declared the following prohibitions

(1) Absolute prohibition of the transit of goods from Armenian sources in the direction of the Black Sea and the Caspian.

(2) Limitation of the transit of goods from abroad to flour, oil, medicines, and a few other articles of prime necessity. These exceptions were imposed upon Georgia and Azerbeidjan as a result of the intervention of the commander of the Allied forces, and have preserved from famine and typhus the population of the Armenian Republic and the refugees who fled the Turkish massacres. At the same time, by a convention signed by the Georgian and Azerbeidjan governments, these republics grant each other the free transit which they refuse to Armenia.

These countries, by the ingenious combination of this transit prohibition and limitation with a masterpiece of customs invention called 'exchange of merchandise, encompass the ruin of Armenian commerce. This system of "exchanges" is, in its main lines, as follows. Armenian products destined for the European or Russian markets and sent by the Transcaucasian Railway must of necessity cross Georgia or Azerbeidjan: they are subject first of all to a duty on entering these countries, and on leaving a special authorization is required, together with the payment of export dues.

Moreover this authorization carries with it the obligation for the exporter to import into these countries goods that are needed there, and also to deposit a sum as guarantee of the fulfilment of such obligation, the deposit often reaching or exceeding 20 per cent *ad valorem*. Similar formalities, taxes, and conditions, are imposed upon foreign goods for Armenia crossing Georgia and Azerbeidjan, excepting only those articles for which free transit has been obtained by the Allies' intervention.

We will not enter here into a detailed examination of this ingenious system, of its modifications, and of its history: provisional conventions have been arranged lately with Georgia and Azerbeidjan which have had the effect of raising the economic blockade of Armenia. However, it is too much to expect that such palliatives can assure a return to the normal in commerce, industry, and agriculture, or an alleviation of the financial situation.

In view of this serious economic situation it may be well to enumerate summarily a few of the products and resources of the Armenian Republic.

At present its territory consists of the Governments of Erivan and Kars, and certain parts of the Governments of Tiflis and Elizavetpol. The total length of its railway system is 366 miles.

To take only the Government of *Erivan*, this nucleus of the republic numbered before the war 1,071,560 inhabitants within an area of 15,625 square miles; 90 per cent. of the population are engaged in agriculture and cattle-breeding, and live in the villages, the remaining 10 per cent. dwell in the towns and are engaged in commerce and industry. The total length of its roads is 440 miles; that of its railways, the construction of which was not begun till 1900, is 265 miles. The traffic on the Erivan railway system reached 400,000 tons annually.

1 *Agriculture*.—We give below a few figures in regard to the agricultural production of this government for the year 1912.

1 Cereals	750,000 acres	300,000 tons
2. Cotton	57,500 "	8,000 "
3 Grapes	25,000 "	60,000 "
4 Rice	4,000 "	10,000 "
5 Wine		413,000 hectalitres
6 Brandy		100,000 degrees
7 Alcohol, etc		100,000 "

To understand how the agricultural development of this government depends on the extension and cultivation of cotton, rice and vines, the function of irrigation, it suffices to observe the equality of the monetary value of the production of the 750,000 acres of cereals on the one hand, and of the 92,500 acres of cotton, rice, and vines. More than 1,500,000 acres of grazing land along the banks of the Arax could be transformed into plantations, irrigation being assured by the rivers within the government. Agricultural development in this region is thus both a financial and a technical problem.

2. *Cattle breeding*—The following figures relating to the year 1912 represent conditions in the Government of Erivan

Oxen and cows	437 092 head
Sheep and goats	921 729
Horses	36 065 ,
Mules	1 055
Camels	6 056 ,
Wool	1 500 tons

3 —The mineral and metallurgical production of the Armenian Republic corresponds to the following averages for the period 1911 1913

Copper ore	12 mines	125 000 tons
Iron pyrites	2	6 000 ,
Salt	5	25 400 „
Copper metal	6 factories	5 200 „

Most of these exploitations are without railway communications. Compared with the total production of Transcaucasia the figures represent Copper, 55 per cent salt 100 per cent iron pyrites, 60 per cent

Besides these proofs of a modest mineral and metallurgical activity representing the available reserve resources in minerals of the Armenian Republic the latter's potential mineral wealth consists, according to the statistics of the Mines Administration, of 450 minefields distributed as follows

	Minefields		Minefields.
1 Lead and silver	60	15 Coal and lignite	47
2 Gold	10	16 Juyet	2
3 Copper	210	17 Combustible schiste	4
4 Zinc	11	18 Peat	9
5 Molybdene	3	19 Oil (petroleum)	6
6 Antimony	1	20 Ozocerite	1
7 Cobalt	6	21 Salt	32
8 Manganese	16	22 Salt springs	6
9 Iron	58	23 Carbonate of soda	1
10 Chrome	1	24 Glauber salt	1
11 Arsenic	8	25 Borax	3
12 Iron pyrites	23	26 Alumite	15
13 Sulphur	9		
14 Graphite	8		450

The mines now worked do not represent 5 per cent of the above total

It might be noted here that the stock of salt available in the republic is about 67,506,000 tons

4 *Hydraulic Power*—The rivers of the Armenian Republic have been little studied as regards their hydraulic power. Almost all are of the swift-running, torrential category, and, therefore, appropriate for industrial exploitation. The hydrometrical and topographical information collected by the administration of the country enables the approximate *minimum* and *average* powers of twenty-five of the rivers to be estimated at 2 756,030 horse-power and 7,165,678 horse power respectively. The latter figure corresponds if we calculate on the basis of 1 kilogramme (a little over 2 lbs) per horse hour or horse-power, to an annual production of 60 000,000 tons of coal

These resources and products which constitute the only real basis of the economic independence of Armenia are paralyzed at present as a result of the control exercised by Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, over Armenia's communications with the sea. She is unable to export her merchandise to Europe and obtain in exchange the means of acquiring even a few articles of immediate necessity the transit of which, as a measure of exception and favour, is secured to her by the intervention of the Allies

While recognizing the great moral value of this humanitarian action that has saved Armenia from famine and facilitated the fight against typhus, one is obliged to admit its inadequateness. Transport to foreign countries being blocked, our products accumulate in the country or deteriorate (cotton wines, etc). Some are sold at hopelessly low prices (skins, wool), while industry is stopped, mines and factories closed, and the remunerative cultivation, cotton, replaced by that of cereals, etc. It is the road to ruin. The country can only be saved from final bankruptcy by extending to Transcaucasia the régime of right and equity established by the Peace Conference for the ports, waterways, and railways of Eastern Europe

The problem of the application of the regime in question to the Armenia Republic must be considered from the double point of view of immediate necessities and the conditions of its economic future

1 *Immediate Necessities* —Under Russian domination, Armenia always enjoyed free transit on the Transcaucasian, the sole railway connecting it with the Black Sea and the Caspian, including the ports of Batoum and Baku. Freedom of traffic, exempt from all special privileges, should be re-established on these railways and at these ports under the guarantee of an international regime in conformity with the stipulation of the Treaty of Versailles. Vital for the Armenian Republic such internationalization corresponds also with the interests of Persia as well as with those of Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbaijan and other neighbours. In order to avoid fresh and graver complications, its application is urgent and should not be delayed pending the solution necessarily distant of the Russian and Turkish questions.

*General Solution* —From the point of view of the Armenian Republic within its present limits, the problem of free transit to the Black Sea and the Caspian presents quite a different aspect if one envisages the general solution as being that which corresponds best to the interests of the country and to its technical needs. A consideration of distances and gradients leads to the conception of a new railway system the Trans-Armenian, crossing the territory of the republic from east to west, through the valleys of the Arax and Chorok, instead of turning from the centre over the Anticaucausus to Tiflis as is the case now, and joining the Transcaucasian in a Tartaro-Georgian Valley.

1 *Direction Erivan-Black Sea* —Existing line, Erivan-Tiflis-Batoum, length, 450 miles. Proposed line, Erivan-Hassan Kalla-Chorok-Batoum, length, 300 miles. Difference, 150 miles.

2 *Direction. Erivan-Caspian* —Existing line, Erivan-Tiflis-Baku, length, 577 miles. Line under construction,



Erivan - Julfa - Baku, length, 380 miles    Difference, 197 miles

The superiority of the Trans-Armenian is even more marked, compared with the Transcaucasian for transit to Persia

1 *Direction Julfa Black Sea* — Existing line, Julfa-Erivan-Tiflis-Batoum length, 560 miles    Proposed line, Julfa-Erivan-River Arax-Hassan Kala-Chorok Batoum, length, 400 miles    Difference, 160 miles

2 *Direction Julfa-Caspian* — Existing line, Julfa-Erivan-Tiflis-Baku, length, 730 miles    Line under construction, Julfa-Baku, length 255 miles    Difference, 475 miles

Consideration of slopes leads to the same conclusion in favour of a Trans-Armenian which (1) would follow the principal valleys of the great rivers of the country, the Arax and the Chorok offering, compared with all other directions, a minimum of gradients, and (2) would only have to cross one mountain chain between the Caspian and the Black Sea

In the present railway system the section Erivan-Tiflis-Baku crosses one chain and the section Erivan-Tiflis-Batoum, two    The mountainous portions, traced through secondary valleys and steep gorges offer average gradients of 18.4 per 1,000, and even 20.6 per 1,000, while the maximum gradients reach 28.6 per 1,000

From a technical point of view, the present system has no other justification than its existence, it is an economic and political anomaly that has hindered the progress of the country    The construction of a Trans-Armenian is a necessity of the near future    It will have the advantage of affording direct connection with the sea by a short and convenient line to the great agricultural, mineral, hydraulic, and other riches of the country, riches that are dormant because of the lack of perfected means of communication. At the same time it will create across Armenia a powerful artery of transit for the markets of Persia, the Caspian Sea, and the great oil centre of Baku

The route of the Trans Armenian includes, at its two extremities, the Black Sea and the Caspian, regions that are coveted by Turkey and by States that have already seized the Transcaucasian, Georgia and Azerbeidjan. The latter extends its exaggerated claims as far as Julfa and even Erivan.<sup>1</sup>

When the time comes for the definitive settlement of the destinies of these regions, no matter to whom they may be allotted the attribution of a zone necessary for the construction of the Trans-Armenian and its internationalization must be considered as vital guarantees of the independence and future of the Armenian Republic.

## THE CHINESE ON THEMSELVES

BY E. H. PARKER

MODERN CHINA: A POLITICAL STUDY. By Sih gung Cheng, M.A., B.Sc.,  
(Fcon) Fellow of the Royal Economic Society (Oxford *The  
Clarendon Press*) 1919. Price 6s. 6d.

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF CHINA. By Chong Su See, PH.D. Published  
under the auspices of the China Society of America (*Longmans,  
Green and Co.*)

The first author tells us in his short preface that this book is an attempt to deal with some of the important problems which confront the Chinese statesman: his hope has been to give a true picture and to suggest constructive schemes: he has tried to avoid patriotic bias and to discuss politics with disinterestedness. His work has been interrupted by the Peace Conference in Paris, and (presumably at the time he dates his Preface August 1919) he is leaving for America while these pages go to press, and has to entrust the work of making an index to his publishers. Amongst those to whom he expresses gratitude for help are Viscount Bryce and Viscount Burnham, Sir Francis J. Liggott (late Chief Justice of Hongkong), Dr A. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister at Washington and I lace Conference plenipotentiary and others.

It will be remembered that in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for July last attention was drawn in a paper entitled 'Law and other reforms in China' to a flood of pamphlets, some anonymous, which were being discharged at the British public by the excited Chinese politicians in London, and which by reason of their denunciatory style probably availed little. But Mr Sih gung Cheng—*ie*, Cheng Si keng in the Peking form—has in this instance managed to provide us with a really fair and interesting book, well thought out, and extremely judicious in tone. Part I (pp. 1-146) treats of the Historical Conception of Chinese Government, the Political Situation since the Revolution of 1911, Constitution making and Provincial Government. It is in this part that the kindly help of Lord Bryce seems most evident for it is quite impossible that any Oriental—unlikely even that any Frenchman, German, or Russian—could have, unaided, composed English with such vigour and precision, not to mention the frequent allusions to Aristotle, De Tocqueville, Bagshot, John Stuart Mill, Viscount Morley and many other constitutional writers ancient and modern, not to mention, again, the manifestly thorough acquaintance with Roman Law, International Law, and the American Constitution, in all of which subjects Lord Bryce is, of course, notoriously past master. The Chinese *ling ch'ih*, or slicing alive (p. 119), is not, however, correctly

translated by "lynching after death," however tempting the quasi alliteration may be in fact, a few years ago a photographic picture of a prisoner who had been thus mutilated was published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Probably if Mr Cheng had been able to revise his final proofs, we should not have such eyesores as "Shao Shin district" (p 120), and "Skenkin province" (p 136)

Part II covers p 147 to 298, and embraces an Historical Sketch of China's Foreign Relations, Extra territoriality, Tariff Administration, Concessions and Investments, New Problems since the War. The sub heads of the last named are the Kiaochow Question, China in the War, Chinese Labour, the Ascendency of Japan, and the Policy of America. All this is very interesting, well written, and on the whole moderate and fair, but the magic of Lord Bryce's wisdom is naturally not often visible here. By "Parathusians" (*pace* Mrs Malaprop) presumably Parthians are meant (p 147), and it was Sir Robert Hart, not Sir Harry Parkes whose good offices (p 155) squared the Franco Chinese difficulty, as is fully explained by Mr Morse ("Period of Submission, p 366). It was in August 1900, not 1901 (p 164), that the Allies occupied Peking. Switzerland should have been enumerated amongst the non treaty Powers (p 177). Kulangsu (not *sham*) is the Amoy island alluded to (p 183). A serious slip occurs on p 210, where the Anglo German loans of £16,000,000 each are given as '£1,000,000 each. The word "floatation" is incorrectly spelt "floatation" (p 220). Perhaps the only place in the book where Mr Cheng indulges in anything approaching bluster is on p 234, when he says 'the time may come when the possession of heavy guns and cruisers will no longer enable foreigners to disregard the sentiments of the Chinese. As a matter of fact, very many "foreigners, the writer amongst them, regard the sentiments of the Chinese with great sympathy but since Yuan Shi-kai's death they have played their diplomatic cards so badly, there has been so much corruption, personal ambition, and squabbling in Government circles, that (as indeed Mr Cheng confesses, p 298) 'for all these troubles China herself is to blame. It is only through the restoration of her internal unity and the increase of her material power that China will maintain her independence without being guaranteed by any other Power.

Then comes Part III, pp 299-315 on the Political Outlook and Foreign Policy, followed by *pieces justificatives* in appendices (pp 316-364), and the Index. A map might well have been added, if only barely to illustrate the place names occurring in the text.

The second is somewhat a bulkier work to look at, and at first sight clumsier to handle, than Mr Sih gung Cheng's neat effort which we have just noticed. But the number of pages is about equal, the quality of paper is much lighter, and there is no heavy cloth binding, so that as the historical and economical ground covered is much the same, it would not be unfair to describe the one book as being a complement to or second version of the other. There is a slight literary difference, however, in the respect that Mr Chong Su See adopts the official or

Websterian American spelling, in which words ending in *our*—such as *favour*, *labour*, *rancour*—omit the *u*, and in which participles where the accent is not on the penultimate—such as in “*travelling*”—omit one of the double letters before the *ing*. Then there are such *class* words as *woolen*, *gild* (for trading *guild*), *center*, *fiber*, *marvelous* (why not *marvelous*?) *focusing*, *program*, etc., all of which are apt to give a slight jar or twitch to the genuine British Lion’s mental tail, and which, moreover, seem to have been abandoned of recent years as unpractical (for school and text examination purposes abroad) by many of the best American writers—for instance, Morse. Morse in his “*International Relations*”—*i.e.*, “*Period of Conflict*” (up to 1860), “*Period of Submission*” (1861-1893), and “*Period of Subjection*” (1894-1911), practically tells us all Mr. See (or Siy as he spells it in his own dedication) has to say, at least up to the revolution of 1911. Our present author lumps Mr. Morse’s two last periods in one, styling that one “*Period of Foreign Domination*” (1861-1918), and thereby bringing us up in Chinese affairs to the end of the Great War. Mr. See, who quotes an earlier work of Morse, *Trade and Administration of China*’ (repeating in his quotation Morse’s apparent misprint in both editions of 1905 for 1805), does not seem to have had before him these most valuable and recent works of Mr. Morse upon “*International Relations*”, although he quotes a passage from another author citing an estimate made by Mr. Morse in 1910, the publishers’ date of the “*Period of Conflict*”. Although in Part I of the work now under review, containing four chapters about early trade intercourse prior to and after the arrival of Europeans, the voice is the voice of Mr. See, the prompting hand in the background is evidently here and there that of the somewhat patriotically biased lobby man of Washington, and “*nonconformist conscience*” at that. It is not exactly that the words are hostile, or even lacking in courtesy, but from first to last there is running through the book a subtle *Leitmotive* (like that in *Lannhäuser*)—a sort of anti-British prejudice creeping through the noisiest as well as the faintest “*music*”, but in such wise as to surprise and stimulate the ear at every turn. The following passage from the Preface gives the general lead: “They would not have censured China for the Opium War if they knew how the British forced the opium vice upon her with the help of their Government.” “*Chinese Account of the Opium War*” is the title of a book published in 1888 by the present writer, showing clearly that a distinguished member of the Chinese official body, speaking representatively, then took a much fairer view. So fifty years later does Mr. Morse, who says (“*International Relations*”, 1910, p. 551) “Of the American merchants in China some took as active a part in the opium trade as they could—*i.e.*, during 1834 to 1860. And (to cite an example) the writer, once crossing the Pacific (1877) in an American steamer, was told by one of the officers (in reply to the remark that \$50 a month seemed rather low pay for his rank) that he made much more than that by smuggling opium each trip. Mr. See (p. 134) also admits that Americans were implicated. England and British India in their connection with the trade have certainly not much to boast of in the matter of failing to assist in its extinction when a chance

came in the 1842 Treaty, but Mr See's reiterated reproaches come with rather a bad grace in view of the self-sacrificing and economical efforts made during the past twelve years by both the British and the Indian Governments, and this the more in that a pack of corrupt and greedy *tuchuns*, or military viceroys, are at this very moment doing their utmost to reintroduce the wholesale cultivation of the poppy in most of the western provinces, where the well meant zeal of President Hsu and his Peking Government cannot bring itself to bear upon them.

An admirable feature in the "Foreign Trade of China" is the carefully tabulated marshalling together of essential facts and sensibly grouped statistics in Part II, which consists mainly of two long chapters, V and VI, the latter being on the "Development of the Foreign Trade." Of special interest are the remarks upon Exchange, Balance of Trade, etc., and, in this connection, it might not be inappropriate here to refer the unprofessional reader to Sir Charles Addis's recently republished Shanghai pocket booklet entitled "Daily Exchange Quotations" which goes luminously and thoroughly to the root of the matter. The seventh and last chapter, 'Summary and Conclusion,' is a vigorous appeal of fifty pages in favour of justice to China—the chief points are, of course, the abolition of extra territoriality—a free hand to China in the matter of tariff reform, the unnecessarily continued existence of foreign post offices—the *iniquum fedus* under which China's own manufactures are strangled in favour of foreign imports, the proscribed total extinction of the Boxer indemnities and so on. Here Mr Chong Su See strikes out fiercely with immense vigour, and as a forensic effort or piece of special pleading his appeal is unexceptionable, in spite of its numerous *suggestio* and *suppresso* features. But China has many friends and admirers—the present reviewer heartily one of them—who would like to see her rapidly reinstated in the world position to which her 4,000 years of unquestionable political leadership in the Far East entitle her. The only thing is, how can we act corporately until China incorporates herself? With whom is it possible to arrange any permanent reform so long as one half of China will not recognize, or even consent to negotiate with, the other—so long as one section burns millions sterling worth of opium whilst other sections fill their private, and also their official, pockets with the proceeds of native grown poppy, secretly encouraged? It is true that the word seems to have been passed round in all provinces that foreigners must not be ill treated, it is also true that in many matters justice, prisons, and appeals, have been improved and reorganized. But how is it that we still hear by every mail of torture used in this or that province to extort confessions, of ferocious and illegal punishments and irresponsible tyranny on the part of many military governors? How can we, or any other Power, give China a free hand in the matter of her own finance when the only part of her finance which is a success and sustains her for the moment is that part (customs and salt) incorruptibly administered by the very foreigner—the dangerous English, in fact—she charges with strangling her? Mr Chong Su See, in his anxiety to conciliate his American friends, sometimes seems a little inconsistent. For instance, p. 291: "Unlike all the other foreigners, the

Americans have always enjoyed the goodwill of the Chinese people." And again, p. 350 "The reason why Chinese are invariably anxious to do business with the United States is because they know that American capital and enterprise in China are devoid of all political designs" But *per contra*, p. 366, "Chinese laborers are excluded by law from the United States and its possessions, and those that are expressly exempt—merchants, students, and travelers—are subjected to the humiliations of minute inquisitions into their character, and of anthropometric measurements of their person, for the purpose of ascertaining that they are not laborers under *camouflage*" In the State of California, Chinese children are forbidden to attend the schools for white children" On p. 382 we read "Of all the great Powers which have declared that they want China to become a strong and virile nation, able to maintain her own place in the world, there is only one, it is to be frankly admitted, which actually desires such a consummation, and that is the United States of America America has never committed any act of aggression in China, nor has she ever attempted to secure unfair and exclusive commercial privileges there" What about America's attack upon Korea in the summer of 1871, when, according to Longford, "hundreds of the Koreans were mowed down by the Remington rifles, shell, and shrapnel?" This was conducted by Minister Lowe of Peking The action of the Americans in Honolulu, Panama, and the Philippines proves that even America has found the mailed fist useful upon occasion How is it that the only mention of America's attack upon Peking in 1900 and her joining in exacting "humiliating penalties" only occurs in a casual footnote? "The United States share (pp 215 216) "was 11s 32 939 055, this amount was later found to be more than enough to recoup the expenses of the American expedition and the claims of American subjects" President Roosevelt is certainly to be credited with a conscientious *amende honorable* to China eight years later, notwithstanding the precautionary condition that the money should be used for the dispatch of her youth to the United States to receive a modern education The writer would like to see Great Britain do the same thing with her balance owing but certainly if she did so, it would not be because she had originally asked for more than was due, nor would she deprive China of the right to choose her own universities abroad, though, on the other hand, she would certainly not trust any *tuchuns* or self seeking politicians with the handling of the funds in any form As the excellent Viceroy, Iiu K'un yi, once remarked "I find, Mr. Consul, that the British authority, though at times seemingly harsh, is invariably just." *Per contra* on p 223 Mr Chong Su See remarks "As a protest against the *unjust* treatment of the Chinese in the United States a boycott of American goods was organized in the summer of 1905."

In spite, however, of the snappish Hearst-cum Valera tone of some of Mr. Chong Su See's *Eminences grises*, his work is really extremely valuable, and the review of trade (pp 270 337) the most masterly *prices* of useful facts we have ever come across. For this the hearty thanks of commercial men interested in the Far East must be due to the *China Society of*

America and to the Political Science Faculty of Columbia University. It is to be noted that most, if not all, of the Chinese who have been inundating Europe and America, during the Paris Conference, with their political claims and views, are southerners, not one prominent northern statesman of mark seems to have been smitten with the *cacoëthes*. Doubtless the reason partly is that the north as a whole is in a general sense conservative, solid, imbued with an historical sense, cautious, conciliatory, and prudent. The southerners, taken as a whole, are not by descent pure Chinese of the old stock, apart from the fact that half the population of south west China is still actually "barbarian" (i.e., Miao, Yao, Shan, Lolo, Kachin, Tibetan, etc.), the temperament is more fickle, less loyal to what may be called the Confucian idea, less confident in its own historical value, and less experienced in the arts of government, management of Tibetan and Tartar races, and so on. Moreover, all Chinese diplomacy, even in the north, is apt to be shift, as Mr Chong Su See himself admits (p. 265) "China's attitude in the European struggle, although neutral, was inclined towards Germany during the first part of the conflict," and he himself shows in several places an inclination to sow as much discord as possible between Japan and America (e.g., pp. 250, 379). It is doubtful whether, with the disturbing influences of foreign intrigue and ambition to distract them, the Chinese will ever trust each other as a whole community. Having in view the multiplicity of dialects, the local feeling, the clashing of maritime and agricultural interests, differing temperament, local characteristics, and so on, we shall probably, before long, all have to come to the conclusion that salvation must lie in the direction of a federated empire—for, as with the German *Reich*, that word is really not inconsistent with the word Republic. The mysteries of plural voting, direct or indirect representation, forms of election, and so on, are matters that will probably assume a natural and unforced growth of their own. Each province (taken roughly) originally was a kingdom, and this up to 2,000 years ago, so that each still preserves a measure of its old idiosyncrasies. The President at Peking (or elsewhere) should of course be in sole charge of foreign affairs, the movements of the army and the navy, the post office, telegraphs, customs, salt gabelle, the promulgation of laws, matters affecting China's credit, and so on. Each province might well be trusted with Home Rule "of a sort." What that sort is to be, how the revenues are to be apportioned, and how the Governors are to be elected or appointed, are matters most ably discussed by Mr Chong Su See as well as by Mr Sih gung Cheng. It would be purposeless, not to say presumptuous, to argue out each point made by them at this stage. These two Chinese gentlemen, presumably with carefully selected foreign assistance, have meanwhile provided us with plenty of food for thought in its raw material form, how that food is to be best cooked and most suitably served up, time has yet to show.

The get-up of Mr. See's book is quite good, and there are very few misprints, but the sketch-map is very poor and gives no clear idea of the railway progress already achieved. Sir Robert Bredon's name is consistently misspelt Breden, and Sir Thomas Wade, throughout whose long



ministry both the Chinese abroad and the Americans in China had many unobtrusive kindnesses to thank him for, does not appear in the index—if indeed in the text—at all. On p 285 *have* should be “*has* fallen off” Tientsin (p 265) must be divided Tien-tsin, not Tient sin. “Kongkun market” (p 200) is quite an imaginary place, possibly Kumchuk is meant. Mindez (p 103) should be Mendez. *Them* (bottom of p 100) should be *it*. These trifling slips are about all that occur in Mr See’s excellent book.

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*Personal Addendum* I should not like it to be thought that I entertained, or was even to be provoked into expressing, the faintest anti American sentiments but I cannot well remain silent when I believe my countrymen are being unfairly attacked in an unsportsmanlike spirit by way of contrast to United States virtue. An American missionary, the Rev Sidney L Gulick, writes as follows in the *Chinese Recorder* of Shanghai, under date January, 1920: “Few American Christians know that for thirty years America has been violating our treaties with China. Yet all know that California passed an Anti Alien Land Law. Thirty years ago the Scott Act was passed. Senator Sherman said that it was ‘one of the most vicious laws that have passed in my time in Congress.’ The Geary Law, even more unreasonable and drastic, was passed in 1892. Judge Field of the United States Supreme Court said ‘It must be conceded that the Act of 1888 is in contravention of the treaty of 1868, and of the supplemental treaty of 1880.’ The success of Christian work in China increasingly depends on the treatment we give to Chinese in America.”

Oriental indignation and resentment at unfair and humiliating treatment do not constitute a mental attitude favourable to the acceptance of Occidental religion.”

In the same January number the world renowned Chinese (foreign trained) anti plague physician Dr Wu Lien teh writes: “Has not the time come when democracy might be practised to a greater extent in the relations between foreigners and Chinese, especially missionaries and Chinese? Quite frequently one hears of equitable treatment being refused to Chinese graduates at foreign colleges. Only the other day a very accomplished Chinese lady on her return home from the States was placed on the same grade as ordinary helpers who had not been educated abroad.”

Americans in China were only too glad in the sixties and eighties to avail themselves of the powerful and disinterested British arm, and I myself on one occasion received the official thanks of President Arthur for prompt and effective services thus rendered. Mentioning this fact to a colleague a year later, I found that he also had received a United States President’s official thanks for assisting “pious Americans” in quite another province. The Columbia University has surreptitiously done an ill service to President Wilson in working up what looks even more like an anti Japanese campaign than an anti English campaign in the otherwise excellent statistical and historical book now under notice.

E. H. P.

## JAPAN'S POLICY IN SIBERIA

BY UMAYA

JAPAN has always adopted, or perhaps could not but elect to adopt, towards Russia a defensive attitude. Russia's ambition for territorial aggrandizement towards the Far East, the legacy of Peter the Great, which culminated in the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-5 had been a constant menace to the peace and repose of the Orient. There is also every reason to believe that Germany had always sought to egg Russia on to turn her attention to the Far East, which otherwise would have reverted to the Balkan Peninsula. However, the fateful Russo-Japanese War brought the German intrigue to grief.

When the late Great War broke out Russia and Japan, the quondam foes were friends, and stood together in common cause with the rest of the Allies. Japan lent Russia £22,000,000 and sent to her arms and munitions to the value of £7,000,000 to fight Germany and Austria. But then came the Russian Revolution of 1917 and Japan, in full sympathy with the Russian people, prayed for a speedy re-establishment of order in Russia, and for a healthy development of her national life. On the other hand, however Germany was not slow to take advantage of the chaotic and defenceless situation into which great Muscovy was suddenly hurled and, being bent on consolidating her hold on that country, even schemed steadily to extend her activities to the Russian Far Eastern possessions. In the meantime the desire of the Czecho-Slovak troops in Russia to come to France to fight on the Western Front was made known, but the only route they could take was through Siberia. Naturally, the Governments of the Central Empires

racked their wits to put impediments in their way. There were freely enlisted among the Russian forces German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners, who anomalously enough practically assumed command. Furthermore, there was considerable fear that the enormous amount of munitions and war materials which had been supplied by the Allies, and was stored up in Vladivostok and its vicinity, would be carried away for the ultimate use of Germany and Austria.

It was at this critical moment that Japan decided to despatch her troops to Siberia in August, 1918, in agreement with the United States and other Allies who had been acting in unison in the attempt to succour Russia. The motives of Japan were announced by the Japanese Government statement on August 2, part of which says :

" In the presence of the threatening danger to which the Czecho-Slovak troops are actually exposed in Siberia at the hands of the Germans and Austro-Hungarians, the Allies have naturally felt themselves unable to view with indifference the untoward course of events, and a certain number of their troops have already been ordered to proceed to Vladivostok. The Government of the United States of America, equally sensible of the gravity of the situation, recently approached the Japanese Government with proposals for an early despatch of troops to relieve the pressure now weighing upon the Czecho-Slovak forces. The Japanese Government, being anxious to fall in with the desires of the American Government, have decided to proceed at once in disposition of suitable forces for the proposed mission. A certain number of these troops will be sent forthwith to Vladivostok. In adopting this course the Japanese Government remain unshaken in their constant desire to promote relations of enduring friendship with Russia and the Russian people, and they reaffirm their avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstaining from all interference in her internal politics. They further declare that, upon the realization of the objects above indicated, they will immediately withdraw

all Japanese troops from the Russian territories, and will leave wholly unimpaired the sovereignty of Russia in all its phases, whether political or military. '

Later on Japan, under the terms of a military agreement with China, sent her troops to North Manchuria, to undertake, in conjunction with the Chinese troops, to safeguard and maintain the order in that locality which had been imminently threatened by the forces under Teutonic influence and command. Soon after the advance of the Japanese detachment to Trans-Baikalia, and after the operations conducted by the Allied forces in the Littoral and Amur Provinces, the Czecho-Slovaks, who had been isolated in the interior of Siberia succeeded in re establishing communications with their kinsmen in Vladivostok and other places

The grave danger that at one time threatened their existence having thus been averted and the primary object of the military activities undertaken by Japan having been practically achieved, Japan effected a reduction in the number of her troops to the minimum essential for the preservation of the public order in those localities. In the meantime in order to save Siberia from economic difficulties, the Japanese Government appointed a Committee for relieving destitute sections of the population, supplying them with the necessaries of life free or below cost price. But she could not provide them with sufficient quantity for their immediate requirements owing to transportation difficulties, though, later on, these difficulties were removed to a considerable extent by the co operation of Japan and America along the line of the Trans Siberian and the Chinese Eastern Railways

Now let us turn our attention to the broader aspects of the subject. With the inauguration of Admiral Koltchak's Government in November, 1918, the importance of Siberia was admittedly enhanced, and the solution of the whole Russian Question depended largely upon the successful administration of the Omsk Government. Had Admiral Koltchak succeeded in establishing a form of democratic

government based upon the will of the people of Siberia, the situation of Russia would have been quite different. But, unfortunately, the Admiral was so keen on crushing the Bolshevism that he neglected to consolidate his own Government, and refused to accept the invitation of the Allies to a conference at Prinkipo. This was the primary cause of his final defeat. Even at that time it was quite clear to every unprejudiced observer that neither could the Allies continue to render assistance for an indefinite period to anti-Bolshevists, nor could Bolshevism be destroyed by force of arms. The best way to solve the Russian Question would have been, in the writer's opinion, to permit all sections to form their own Governments in the territories which they occupied, and to give the Russian people at large the free choice of government to which they should owe allegiance. As a general statement, the Prinkipo proposal in January, 1919, may be said to have been a step towards this end. Had the Allies undertaken more in earnest to persuade the anti-Bolshevists, led by Admiral Koltchak, to join this conference, some understanding might, for aught we know, have been arrived at between the Bolshevists and the anti-Bolshevists. Russia might have worked out her own salvation, and consequently propitious co-operative relations might have been established between her people and the rest of the world. As it was, the Allies advised anti-Bolshevists to occupy Moscow. On May 26 last they sent a note to Admiral Koltchak, asking him, among other things, to summon a Constituent Assembly as soon as the Admiral and his associates reached Moscow. But that was an ill-conceived plan, and the downfall of his Government dates from those days. From the very moment, indeed, of the despatch of the reply to the above note, Koltchak's troops started to retreat from European Russia, and with the defeat of the Koltchak Army the Omsk Government were forced to transfer their seat to Irkutsk, and then to Chita towards the close of last year.

Alarmed by the untoward turn of events, and sensible of the increased difficulties in the further withdrawal of the Czecho Slovaks, which had by no means been completed, the Japanese Government approached the American Government with a view to arriving at an understanding on the question of sending reinforcements in case of necessity. Before the conclusion of the negotiations America made a sudden decision to withdraw all her troops and railway experts from Siberia. On January 22 1920 the Foreign Minister of Japan in his speech before the Diet explained the situation in Russia and the desire of Japan in the following words. 'The need of sending out reinforcements to our railway guards having been intensified by exigencies of the situation in Siberia the Japanese Government have taken steps to despatch about half a division for that purpose. At any rate the present plight of Russia is a matter of grave concern not only to Russia herself but also to all those interested in the general peace of the world. The Japanese Government are extremely anxious to see the speedy establishment of a stable Government in Russia and the achievement of her complete resuscitation.'

But since that speech was delivered the situation in Siberia developed with an alarming precipitancy. Vladivostok and other towns in Eastern Siberia excepting some portion of Trans Baikal retuned by Semenov have been, one after another captured by Social Revolutionaries as well as by Bolsheviks culminating in the arrest and execution of Admiral Koltchak on February 7 and since January 31 the Vladivostok Zemstvo have assumed authority all over the Littoral Province. In view of the emergency of the situation Japan hastened to despatch reinforcements and declared once more its intention to maintain an attitude of strict neutrality towards all parties whilst endeavouring to effect the withdrawal of the Czecho Slovaks. It was further announced by the Japanese military authorities that, so long as the railways were not

endangered or her troops molested, Japanese troops would not resort to hostile measures

Needless to say, further developments in Siberia are at present awaited with keener anxiety than at any other time. Russia is a country of kaleidoscopic surprises, the wind bloweth where it listeth. Japan may, in her muddling through, have to change her line of action in future in full consultation with her Allies. But it may be taken for granted that all that Japan will desire, after the successful withdrawal of Czecho-Slovak troops, will be to keep the Bolshevist activities within the pale of Russian soil.

## COMMERCIAL SECTION

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### EXTENSION OF COTTON-GROWING IN SINDH: NECESSITY FOR MORE BRITISH- GROWN COTTON

BY THOMAS SUMMERS. C.I.E., D.SC.

BRITAIN depends to a large extent on America for cotton, but America is using up more and more of the cotton she produces. The world's demand for cotton goods has also gone far beyond the quantity produced. It is, therefore, not only advisable, but absolutely necessary, in order to supply the increasing demand, and to lower the price, that cotton-growing in the Empire should be very largely increased as soon as possible.

#### EXTENSION OF COTTON-GROWING IN INDIA

The greatest field in the Empire for the development of cotton-growing is undoubtedly India, and the Province in which the largest increase in quantity can be obtained in the shortest time is Sindh.

#### SINDH AS A GREAT COTTON PRODUCER

The Indus Valley closely resembles the Nile Valley. Both have been formed in past ages by the natural deposition of silt brought down by the rivers, and this soil is admirably suited for cotton-growing. The volume discharged by the Indus is practically unlimited; it is sufficient at present and, as far as one can judge, will be sufficient fifty years hence, to irrigate 20 million acres annually, while the whole culturable area of Sindh is about 14 million acres.

Even under the present conditions of agriculture, which are very backward, the average yield per acre of cotton in Sindh is 160 lbs., compared with 85 lbs. in the Bombay Presidency, 100 lbs. in the Punjab, and 85 lbs. for the whole



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#### EXTENSION OF COTTON-GROWING IN INDIA

The greatest field in the Empire for the development of cotton-growing is undoubtedly India, and the Province in which the largest increase in quantity can be obtained in the shortest time is Sindh.

#### SINDH AS A GREAT COTTON PRODUCE

The Indus Valley closely resembles the Nile Valley. Both have been formed in past ages by the natural deposition of silt brought down by the rivers, and this soil is admirably suited for cotton-growing. The volume discharged by the Indus is practically unlimited; it is sufficient at present and, as far as one can judge, will be sufficient fifty years hence, to irrigate 20 million acres annually, while the whole cultivable area of Sindh is about 14 million acres.

Even under the present conditions of agriculture, which are very backward, the average yield per acre of cotton in Sindh is 160 lbs., compared with 85 lbs. in the Bombay Presidency, 100 lbs. in the Punjab, and 85 lbs. for the whole

of India. In 1906 the yield per acre from a quarter of a million acres of cotton in Sindh was 250 lbs. There is no question of experiment in cotton-growing in Sindh, as it has been grown for generations.

The average yield per acre of cotton in America is about 200 lbs., and in Egypt 400 lbs. It is not too much to anticipate that with perennial canals the average yield should be 250 lbs. per acre, and may in time rise much higher.

In 1904 Mr. F. Fletcher—an agricultural expert, well acquainted with Egypt—while Deputy Director of Agriculture in Sindh, expressed the opinion that “the exceptional potentialities of Sindh as a cotton-growing country ought no longer to be ignored.” There is no doubt whatever about this, and if only a start is made with a good canal, the present area of a quarter million acres under cotton on the Rohri and Nara River canals should increase to a million acres in, say, thirty years. Eventually, when other parts of Sindh are improved by drainage and pumping, there is no reason why the area under cotton should not reach 2 million acres or more, out of Sindh’s 14 million acres of culturable land.

#### THE SUKKUR WEIR PROJECT

As the rapid development of cotton in India is bound up with the Sukkur Weir project, a few remarks are given below to show how soon and to what extent development may be expected from this project, which will be the greatest irrigation scheme in India.

In 1851 that great pioneer, General (then Lieutenant) Fife, R.E., proposed that the slovenly, wasteful, and unscientific system of irrigation in Sindh should be superseded by high-level perennial canals, and fixed upon the Sukkur Weir systems of canals as the best and most urgent to begin with.

The complete project will consist of the Rohri, Right Bank, and Nara River canals, and the Sukkur Weir. The cost of the project is estimated at about £14,000,000. The

net revenue anticipated from the project ten years after completion is £830,000, which gives a return of 6 per cent. Thirty years after completion the net revenue is expected to increase to £1,700,000, and the return to 12 per cent.

The carrying out of this great project was really begun by General Fife, by the construction of a new mouth to the Nara River from the Indus, which was opened in 1859, and the Mithrao Canal, taking its supply from the Nara River, which was opened some years later. The next step was the construction of the Jamrao Canal, which is also supplied by the Nara River. The Jamrao—the only up-to-date perennial canal in Sindh—cost £850,000, and gives a return of about 5 per cent. It was opened in 1900.

The area at present irrigated out of the culturable area of 6 million acres, which will be commanded by the Sukkur Weir and its canals, is about 2,300,000 acres (38 per cent.). The anticipated area of irrigation thirty years after completion is 4,500,000 acres, which will be 75 per cent. of the culturable area. This gives an increase of 2,200,000 acres, out of which 1,400,000 acres is estimated as due to the Rohri Canal—the most urgent and most important part of the project.

#### RATE OF INCREASE IN THE COTTON AREA

As the Rohri Canal must obviously be the first step in carrying on this project, it will be of interest to show how soon its construction will lead to the extension of the cotton area. The first section of this canal—assuming that it will take ten years to construct, and that it is begun in 1920—will open up three-quarters of a million acres of excellent cotton land in 1924, 1½ million acres in 1925, and 2½ million acres in 1930, so that there will not be long to wait, once a start is made.

#### INCREASE IN QUANTITY OF COTTON

(a) *From the Rohri Canal.*—There is considerable difference of opinion as to the quantity and kind of cotton which Sindh will eventually produce under perennial canals.

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For example, in the Rohri Canal tract alone, out of its culturable area of 2,400,000 acres, Mr Fletcher's forecast of cotton in 1904 was 800,000 acres, or 33 per cent

In 1910 Mr. W. H. Lucas, Commissioner in Sindh, estimated 470,000 acres, or 20 per cent. On newly opened perennial canals in Egypt, 50 per cent. is sometimes cultivated under cotton for a few years, but 33 per cent. is generally recognized as the percentage which can be kept up

On the Rohri Canal, which will command the best cotton land in Sindh, the intensity for cotton should not be less than 25 per cent., which is the percentage allowed by the Cotton Committee for the Jamrao Canal in paragraph 96 of their Report. This would give 600,000 acres of cotton per annum. Taking into consideration the great advantages the Rohri Canal will have over the Jamrao, it is probable that the area under cotton will reach Mr Fletcher's figure of 33 per cent. However, taking 25 per cent., the area under cotton on the Rohri Canal would be 200,000 acres in 1924, increasing to 600,000 acres in 1930.

As Sindh under the present unsatisfactory conditions, produces an average of 160 lbs. per acre, and produced 250 lbs. in 1906 it will not be out of place to assume that, under improved methods of agriculture, an up-to-date perennial canal will produce 250 lbs. per acre from the best soil in Sindh

This would give 50 million lbs., or 120,000 bales in 1924, rising to 370,000 bales in 1930

With 33 per cent. intensity the total quantity of cotton from the Rohri Canal *alone* would be half a million bales

As the present area of cotton in the Rohri Canal tract is 120,000 acres and the average yield 160 lbs., the quantity at present produced is about 50,000 bales, so that the net increase on the Rohri Canal would be, say, 300,000 bales, with only 25 per cent. of the culturable area under cotton, and 450,000 bales, with 33 per cent.

(b) *From the complete Sukkur Weir Project.*—The Cotton Committee's cotton forecast for the Jamrao Canal

is 25 per cent of the culturable area. Taking this percentage, the total area under cotton in the Rohri and Nara River tracts, in which the culturable area is about 3 900 000 acres, would be 970 000 acres. This area at 250 lbs per acre gives 600 000 bales.

No cotton forecasts have been made for the Right Bank Canal tract. It has a high subsoil water level, and is not considered suitable for cotton, in its present state at any rate. However, if the subsoil water level is lowered by pumping, this tract of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million acres could be improved and might, in time, produce another 200,000 bales.

There is no reason why, with up to date perennial canals, demonstration farms, efficient drainage, and improved methods of agriculture the Sukkur Weir project should not produce from a minimum of half a million to, say, 1 million bales of cotton. In addition to this cotton the area under wheat and other food crops would be increased by over 1 million acres.

#### LONG STAPLE COTTON

Shortly after the opening of the Jamrao Canal in 1900, Mr M D Mackenzie, the pioneer of Egyptian cotton growing in Sindh succeeded in producing some excellent Egyptian cotton on this canal, under his personal supervision.

In 1904 Mr Fletcher made a forecast of 800,000 acres of Egyptian cotton on the Rohri Canal alone, but in 1910 Mr Lucas, in his forecast for the Sukkur Weir project, made no allowance for long staple cotton, as it had not been proved to be a success. In 1919 the Cotton Committee have estimated that about 60 per cent. of the whole area under cotton will be long staple, and have allowed 400,000 acres for this project. Mr Lucas, who had long experience of the Sindhi zamindar, based his forecasts on indigenous cotton, which has been grown for generations, and on which the Sukkur Weir project will pay. The difficulties in connection with the cultivation of Egyptian

or other long staple cotton will probably be overcome in time, but not at once. The Sindhi cultivator will have to be shown that the cultivation of long staple cotton on a commercial scale will pay him before he will take to it.

#### URGENCY OF THE SUKKUR WEIR PROJECT

There are three projects under consideration in the Punjab—the Sutlej River, the Haveli and the Sindh Sagar Doab. The Cotton Committee anticipate an area of 525,000 acres of cotton under these three projects of which 200,000 should be American. After discussing these projects, they say, in paragraph 38: "Not only is the construction of the Sukkur Barrage and the connected canals far more essential to the extension of long staple cotton in India than any or in fact all the projects mentioned above but it is equally essential to the maintenance of the prosperity of Sindh at its present level, unless further progress in regard to irrigation in the Punjab is to be stopped in view of its effect upon the supplies in Sindh."

The Committee forecast for long staple cotton under the Sukkur Weir Project Canals is 400,000 acres, compared with 200,000 acres under these three Punjab canals.

*Delay in carrying out the Sukkur Weir Project*—The unfortunate delay of ten years in commencing the Sukkur Weir project has been due to the difference of opinion as to whether owing to the abstraction of water from the Indus and its tributaries by new Punjab canals, especially by the great Punjab Triple Project Canals the Rohri Canal should be begun before the Sukkur Weir or the Weir before the canal. As the Indus data do not show that these canals, which were opened between 1912 and 1915 have had any effect on the Indus in Sindh, it is anticipated that the Rohri Canal will be commenced this year, and that Sindh's long looked for increase in cotton and food crops may begin in 1924.

## THE BRITISH-ARMENIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

### VISIT OF H E BOGHOS NUBAR PACHA

At the meeting of the Council of the Chamber held on Wednesday, March 3, Mr E A Brayley Hodgetts presiding, supported by Professor Thoumaian, Deputy Chairman, Sir J. Roper Parkington, Mr. E R Bartley Dennis, M P, Mr. James A Malcolm, Mr S P Stephens (Hon Treasurer), and others, H E. Boghos Nubar Pacha (of the Armenian National Delegation), and His Beatitude the Patriarch of Constantinople, were welcomed by the Chairman

Mr E A BRAYLEY HODGETTS, in introducing H E Boghos Nubar Pacha, said that that name was historical and revered by every student of the history of the British Empire. It was unnecessary for him to refer to the services which His Excellency's father had rendered to this country and to Egypt, but it was pleasant to reflect that that father's son was so nobly following in his parent's footsteps. His Excellency was devoting himself with rare ability and assiduity to the service of his own country, in doing so he was promoting the best interests of the British Empire, which was identified with the advancement of civilization and culture and more particularly in bringing about a union of East and West. He need not refer to the arduous labours of His Excellency on behalf of his ancient and noble country at the Peace Conference in Paris and now in London. He felt that he had achieved a great work in the face of many difficulties, and he was grateful that his Excellency had been able to find time to attend this meeting and grace it with his presence. The British Armenian Chamber of Commerce had no political objects, it was a purely commercial body, but he thought it would perform a very useful function in assisting the energetic and industrious Armenian people to develop the undoubted wealth of their country and in promoting trade relations with Great Britain.

H E BOGHOS NUBAR PACHA said he was particularly touched by the Chairman's reference to his father. It was a surprise—indeed, a very agreeable surprise—for him to learn that, with the co operation of their friends in England, a British Armenian Chamber of Commerce was already founded. As soon as the Armenian State was set up by the Peace Conference—an event which they all hoped might not be deferred—one of their first cares and duties would be to establish commercial relations with the European countries, and they could not but view with lively gratitude that Great Britain was taking the lead in that direction. Armenia, which until now had not been able to undergo any economic development under the barbarous Turk, who had paralyzed and rendered it sterile, would not fail, under the energetic impulse, penetrating activity, and invincible industry of Armenians, to progress by leaps and bounds. Their first efforts would be directed towards the restoration of their agriculture, in order to assure

immediately the subsistence of the people on the produce of the country itself. As soon as that was done, they would be able to export their produce. But to attain the double object, they would need, above all, agricultural machinery and implements, which they could only get from abroad. And it was in that vast field open to activity that an institution, such as the British-Armenian Chamber of Commerce, would be of the greatest value. Next to agriculture, and perhaps concurrently, they would have to develop their subsoil, which possessed immense unexploited riches. Experts who had explored the country attested to the existence of great mineral deposits. Copper, silver, lead, iron, coal, oil, and other minerals were to be found in Armenia. But the co-operation of their friends was necessary for them to accomplish such a task. He was confident that Great Britain, who had so powerfully contributed, by the triumph of its arms to the liberation of Armenia, would not be lacking in enterprise and sympathy to help Armenia in peace to their mutual advantage.

The CHAIRMAN then welcomed His Beatitude the Patriarch of Constantinople, who arrived later, and after referring to the heroism with which His Beatitude had accompanied the Armenian refugees in their calvary to Mesopotamia, stated that he was the first Armenian Patriarch to visit these shores, and expressed his gratitude to him for coming to this meeting to give them his benediction. He thought it was a good omen for the future success and prosperity of the British Armenian Chamber of Commerce.

HIS BEATITUDE THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE addressed the meeting in Armenian, Professor Thoumaian interpreting as follows. Although commerce did not come within his ecclesiastical sphere, yet, as the representative of a prominently commercial people, when he was invited to be present, he at once consented. He took that opportunity of expressing his hearty appreciation of their efforts and interests in the commercial aspects of Armenia, which with agriculture and industry form the trades which were largely practised by the Armenians. But in order that the Armenian activities in all these branches might attain their full development, Armenian independence must be an accomplished fact. Only independence, however, was not sufficient. His people had been so terribly and cruelly treated that without outside help it would be difficult, and would take a long time to develop their full activities. For that reason they wanted British help above all. They firmly believed that British industry with Armenian grit would work marvels in a short time. The soil was fertile, but the subsoil was still richer in mineral wealth. He himself had resided for many years in Armenia, and knew personally that in many places the ores were almost exposed at the surface. He heartily welcomed that beginning which was certainly in the right direction, and he hoped that the Chamber would be an intermediary between the two nations of Great Britain and Armenia. When British enterprise and Armenian perseverance and endurance were coupled together, the prosperity of New Armenia would be assured. He asked God's blessing on their enterprise.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

## EGYPTOLOGICAL NOTES

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

1 *The Historical Value of Greek Papyri*—Mr H. Idms Bell, the papyrologist of the British Museum, gave a most interesting lecture before the Egypt Exploration Society on February 20, 1920, in which he dealt with the historical importance of the papyri in the Greek language, of which so vast a collection has come down to us. It may be thought that the subject is outside the pale of a society devoted to Egyptology, but it must be remembered that at a late period in her history Egypt was under Greek rule, and that this period is no less important in the history of the country than that of the Pharaohs. Moreover, Egypt is the provenance from which the great majority of papyri has come, and the Egypt Exploration Society has discovered and published more of these documents than any other single body has done.

We are apt to consider history as a series of epoch-making events—of conquests of governments, of laws and economies. The Greek papyri which have come down to us act in a hundred ways to correct the false focus in which we view these events, for they comprise lyrical and epic poems, discourses, letters, contracts, legal forms, and a thousand and one miscellaneous jottings made by contemporaries of contemporary events, seen from the personal point of view of their authors, and not through the long telescope of posterity. The papyri have given us practically nothing in the shape of official annals or, indeed, of any of the usual documents of the type to which modern historians resort for their facts, but in place of this we have a mass of evidence of the manners, customs, and opinions of antiquity, which infuse the proper colouring into the greater events which we commonly term history.

As the principal actors in history appear to us as exceptional personalities, men who have made their mark, but who are quite abstract and formless in our minds without the foil of the common crowd, by whom they were surrounded and above whom they rose, the Greek papyri furnish us with an abundance of matter of a personal nature. They show us the great undistinguished mass who performed in their day the common tasks of humanity. Without this leaven the greater personages cannot be properly appreciated by us.

By analogy with the data furnished in Græco-Roman Egypt we can, to a considerable extent, gauge the psychology of the Græco-Roman world.

which has had such a vast and far reaching influence on the posterity of nations

The study of the Greek papyri has given us much data on legal procedure and jurisprudence, on popular piety—and impiety—of the economic decay of the Roman Empire, of the early joys and sorrows of Christianity. The last-named subject is one of great interest to theological students. Fragments of lost gospels have come to light, and documents which show us the extent to which the early Christians borrowed from and adapted the paganism of their ancestors and of their contemporaries.

Such in rapid review are the principal subjects with which the lecturer dealt. He showed us plainly how important to history these confessedly unhistorical documents really are, and he noted with regret how backward this country has been in comparison with others in cultivating the publication and study of these very human documents, for the "proper study of mankind is man."

2 *The First Reformer*—It is a matter of common knowledge that midway through her enormously long history Egypt was dominated by an Asiatic immigration known as the Hyksos, whose power was so great that their chiefs actually occupied the throne of the Pharaohs. Their principal sphere was the Delta country, whilst in Upper Egypt the native princes still ruled at Thebes. After a series of struggles the invaders were expelled, and the eighteenth dynasty opened a new era of stupendous progress both civil and political. A long line of illustrious Kings succeeded one another, and a great military spirit arose as the result of which the empire expanded in all directions, and as a contemporary phrase ran, "Egypt could set her boundaries where she would," and became mistress of the ancient world.

With the death of Amenophis III., with the extensive empire to control, there was never greater need of a powerful ruler and a firm statesman to rule Egypt's destinies, but the succeeding Pharaoh was quite unfitted for the task which lay before him although he achieved greatness in another direction such as none of his forerunners or successors ever did. Instead of a firm handed man of affairs, a diplomat or military leader, the new King, Amenophis IV., was a youthful and æsthetic dreamer for whom the aggressive affairs of state had no appeal. He conceived a pure and monotheistic religion, and devoted his whole reign to its nurture. In order to understand what a stupendous achievement such a reformation really was, it is necessary to remember that Egypt was the most conservative country in the world. Its religious system which dominated and formed an integral part of the whole civil, social, and political fabric of the land was in the main preserved intact from the beginning to the end of history, excepting only the short interruption with which we are about to deal. Order of precedence, ceremonial, and etiquette were absolutely paramount, and every being, animate and inanimate, every form and power, had its appointed place in the hierarchical scheme of things. Thebes was the capital of the country, and its god Amon had risen with its fortunes and had become the greatest national god, appropriating the attributes of Re, the sun god, who was the principal god under the ancient empire. The great conquests had

brought enormous spoils and riches to Thebes, and of these the lion's share was given to Amon Re, the god of the city. The priesthood of Amon waxed wealthy and powerful, and its temporal power became immense. The priests of Amon nearly all held important civil offices and high places in court, and the religious and political life of the country was thus fused into one entity under the power of the strongest corporation the country could produce.

Amenophis IV, the new King, instituted the worship of Aton, the sun's disk, as the outward visible sign of a one and almighty god, a god of beneficence and joy for whom none of the accepted priestcraft was required. It has been supposed in some quarters that the Aton cult was merely a revival of the old sun worship of Heliopolis under a different form. It would seem, however, that to the idealistic temperament of the young King this sun worship was as little a real religion and as much a priestcraft as that of Amon, and would be equally distasteful. Indeed, subsequent events make it clear that the new religion was to be absolutely distinct from the old, and could not flourish on the same soil.

In its early stages the Aton cult was practised at Thebes, but the ubiquitous Amon and his priests made the locality intolerable and Amenophis IV, who had changed his name to Akhnaton, founded a new city where Aton should be worshipped unhampered by external forces. In the change of his name, not only was the King identifying himself with Aton, but was severing the connection with Amon, whose name was confounded in his own. The elimination of the name of Amon marks the only outward fanaticism which we can lay to the charge of the Akhnaton, for the King caused the name of Amon to be obliterated from every monument and inscription which contained it.

Once established in the new city which he called Akhetaton (the modern Arabic name is Tell el Amarna) the King gave free scope to his fancies. A beautiful palace was built, the ruins of which were excavated some years ago and revealed a wonderful painted pavement\* in a free and naturalistic style—a style which makes an absolute break with the conservative conventions of Egyptian art.

The wall paintings in the tombs at Amarna show a similar cleavage with old tradition and introduce perspective for the first time in Egyptian art. Akhnaton was the most affectionate husband and father, and is seen on his monuments caressing his wife and children, a strange contrast to the usual formal and ceremonial manner of depicting the Pharaohs.

The celebrated hymns to Aton are attributed to the authorship of Akhnaton, but they were at least composed under his influence. The most beautiful hymn, which is inscribed on the walls of one of the Amarna tombs, bears a striking resemblance to the 104th Psalm. The resemblance will be at once apparent on comparing the two compositions†.

The court embraced the new religion during its author's lifetime, but on

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\* Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Plates II-IV.

† In Breasted's "*History of Egypt*," second edition, pp. 371 ff., the two are placed in parallel columns.



his death it quickly died out and the priests of Amon triumphed once more. The new town lasted for some time as an industrial centre, but was finally demolished and forgotten.

It is difficult to appreciate the greatness of the reform which Akhnaton engendered without a more exhaustive study of this evidence, which space forbids, and one of the evidences of the greatness of his personality is the fact that his religion died with him. He had no male heir, and his successors had not sufficient personality or interest to maintain the new faith against the powerful opposition of the priesthood of Amon.

The "City of the Heretic King" formed the subject of a lecture delivered for the Egypt Exploration Society by Professor T. E. Peet on January 23. He dealt fully with the rise and growth of the new religion, and in great detail with the city which was its home. I trust I have faithfully represented the lecturer's views, but if I differ from him, he is, of course, in no way responsible for the liberties I have taken.

#### JULY ISSUE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

Among the contributors to the July issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW will be the Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby Gore, M.P. (on "Arabia"), Baron A. Heyking, D.C.L. (on "Revolutionary Socialism in Russia: its Origin and Drift"). There will also be articles on "The Tea Industry in India," "The Financial and Economic Position in Japan," and the "Shan States of Burma."

## EX-RUSSIA

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

DARKNESS in Russia continues. The Deluge of Noah is being repeated by a deluge of blood. The Deluge of Noah lasted one hundred and fifty days—the present deluge of blood has now lasted three years, and its horrors seem to greatly exceed the misfortunes of the days of Genesis. That Chaos, called by courtesy Government, decreed immediately that all prison-houses of convicted criminals, thieves, forgers, and murderers, should be opened, and set in their place innocent citizens whose only crime was their religious patriotism. It was a bad beginning—*facilis descensus Averno*. What the Romans foresaw—of that the Bolsheviks have given a novel and startling illustration quite lately.

In the *Daily Telegraph* we read the following :

“The employees at the Putilov Works have issued a manifesto, declaring for the benefit of the Russian workers generally that the Soviet Government has deceived the Russian proletariat, even robbing it of the political rights it enjoyed under the Imperial régime, and that this has been done by the application of incredible terrorism.”

This news receives striking confirmation in the March issue of *National Opinion*, the organ of Brigadier-General Page-Croft, a generous friend of my country :

“In the *Communist* (a Soviet paper published in Moscow) of November 1, 1919, there is an article called ‘The Liquidation of Counter-Revolution at the Putilov Works.’ In it we find a list of one hundred and eighty-nine workmen shot by order of the ‘Extraordinary Commission of the Soviet of the Union of Northern Communes.’

“According to the Soviet paper, these executions of workmen at the Putilov Works, in Petrograd, were caused by the following circumstances : When General Yudenich’s

cavalry made a raid on Petrograd the Putilov workmen held a crowded meeting, presided over by Cherniak, a workman and former Communist, and at this meeting speeches were made against the Soviet authorities.

"There were cries of 'Down with the Extraordinary Commissions!' 'Down with the Bolsheviks!' 'Death to the Commissars!' 'Bread and Liberty,' etc.

"The Bolshevik Extraordinary Commission sent its 'best forces' to suppress this counter-revolution. The notorious Peter the Painter himself came from Moscow to assist his Petrograd comrades. The article goes on to say that, thanks to all the latest methods of extracting information elaborated by the 'Chresvychaikas' (Extraordinary Commission for Fighting Counter-Revolution) having been employed at the examination of the workmen, the Soviet authorities managed to discover the culprits, and, as a result, one hundred and eighty-nine Russian workmen were shot down by bodies of Letts and Chinese."

Monstrous and incredible as it may appear, slavery has been introduced into Russia. It is even admitted by the Moscow Government in their official wireless published on March 10 in the *Evening News*, and commented upon in the leading article of that issue. They threaten with immediate punishment any who leave their work on the railways. The case of all the 48,000,000 of serfs liberated in 1862 is even worse. That measure was the delight and happiness and blessing of the whole of Russia in the days of Alexander II. Can we be surprised to learn that all the peasants begin to realize the nature of their persecutors? Liberty and property are abolished for high and low alike. That restriction imposes even quite unexpected limitations. A lady newly arrived from Russia describes how she tried to buy some bread in selling her personal belongings, but was not only threatened with their confiscation, but with imprisonment. Not only liberty but also all property of every Russian aristocrat, peasant and workman alike, has been abolished.

The present rulers of Russia call themselves Russians simply because they are Russian subjects—but they are as unlike true Russians as a Touareg is a French Marquis.

So the Bolsheviks are reintroducing serfdom in Russia. The full meaning of these words is best described by a friend of mine, the late Sir D Mackenzie Wallace, in his chapter on the "Emancipation of the Serf in Russia." He writes

"The periodical Press—which was once the product and the fomentor of liberal aspirations—hailed the raising of the question with boundless enthusiasm. The emancipation it was said, would certainly open a new and glorious epoch in the national history. Serfage was described as an ulcer that had long been poisoning the national blood, an enormous weight under which the whole nation groaned, as an insurmountable obstacle, preventing all material and moral progress, as a cumbrous load which rendered all free vigorous action impossible, and prevented Russia from rising to the level of the Western nations. If Russia had succeeded in stemming the flood of adverse purpose in spite of the millstone round her neck, what might she not accomplish when free and untrammelled?" (p. 276.)

This millstone has again been fixed round the neck of poor Russia by the Bolsheviks. Such is the present cult of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

In 1862 different ideas prevailed amongst the true representatives of the Russian Government, and especially the Emperor. The whole of the civilized world admired this measure of the Emperor and how that event was supported by every Russian. Mackenzie Wallace introduces the whole subject in the following paragraph:

"It is a fundamental principle of Russian political organization that all initiative in public affairs proceeds from the autocratic power. The widespread desire, therefore, for the emancipation of the serfs did not find free expression so long as the Emperor kept silence regarding his intentions. The educated classes watched anxiously for some sign, and soon a sign was given to them."

Is there any parallel between Alexander II and the present regime in Russia? No—for the Tsar of old was the liberator, and Lenin has become the enslaver. More than ever one would like to exclaim with the present Patriarch Tihon: "Anathema!"

## A PLEA FOR SANITY

THE brochure entitled 'The Agony of Amritsar' begins by deprecating the attempt to anticipate the report of Lord Hunter's committee and to whitewash General Dyer in advance as the saviour of India. There is a proverb about glass houses, but we will let that pass and endeavour to take the advice to heart.

Now before entering into any of the facts, allegations or suggestions, it is necessary to notice two general considerations. In the first place there is no situation which an Indian civilian dislikes so much as a riot. There is no time for cold calculation; you have to act for the best on the spur of the moment with the knowledge to put aside the enormous responsibility of firing at all that if you fire too soon or too late, or if your action *seems* to those authorities who were not present to have been too soon or too late, you may be taken severely to task; you may in fact ruin your career. Secondly, the civilian dislikes martial law not only because it is a desperate remedy but because it is a confession of failure. For these two reasons things must appear very black indeed before the civilian will appeal to the military.

Now it is admitted that there was in India a state of something unrest at the end of the war. In addition to other ills India had been scourged by the influenza; high prices were telling cruelly on the masses, and there were three causes of political anxiety, the fate of Turkey, the Rowlatt Act and the Cabinet's pledge of 1917. On the economic causes there need be no dispute, but opinions may well differ about the political causes. In April of last year the question of Turkey had not arisen in any acute form, the great mass of the Hindus do not care a rap what happens to the Sultan. The Rowlatt Act is the outcome of the Rowlatt Commission which made an exhaustive inquiry into the various conspiracies, murders, dacoities and disorders that had occurred during recent years. The British Cabinet has made no announcement about the pledge of August 1917, but the Montagu-Chelmsford Report had been published. Now the Rowlatt Act and the Report do not really touch the masses at all. It is absurd to suppose that the 'man in the street' in India takes any spontaneous interest in either, that he has read either, or that he could follow them intelligently if he had read them. It follows therefore that the situation did not arise directly out of any of these things but out of the use which was made of them by the leaders, interpretations and comments, acting upon a people already excited by the economic causes.

But the pamphlet goes on to say that in spite of ample grounds for exasperation, the people, except for a few acts of "regrettable violence" such as the murder of two bank managers, the burning of two banks

and other buildings, the assault on a European lady, and the death of "some Europeans," were peacefully inclined, marched "peacefully" to the Deputy Commissioner's house, and were "peaceful until unnecessarily provoked." The "deplorable acts of violence" were due, in Amritsar at any rate, to the worst elements in the crowd. In fact, in Kasur it was, or may have been, the very arrival of the police which provoked the outbreak of crowd violence. Finally, in Delhi the mob was fired upon because a few stones were thrown.

Now, bearing in mind our two general considerations, we are driven to the conclusion either that the civil and military authorities indulged in an orgy of murder for its own sake or that they entirely lost their heads. The first of these alternatives is difficult to believe. It involves the conspiracy of the Punjab Government and of the Government of India with a few of their own subordinates, to say nothing of the total contradiction of all we know of the English character. The second is almost as difficult, for it means that the authorities at Delhi at *Lujranwala* at Kasur, and at "one or two places in the Punjab," all gave way to panic simultaneously and that the Punjab Government shared the panic.

So, then, if these things cannot be reasonably explained in this way, there was evidently something to alarm the authorities, and that something must have been more serious than the writers of this brochure are willing to allow. In Amritsar the "wholly peaceful demonstration" had met "to reprobate the mob violence that had occurred and concert measures for preserving order." Then why did they choose this very suspicious method? General Dyer, who is condemned out of his own mouth is surely entitled to use his own evidence in his favour. You cannot have it both ways. He says that he was ordered to Amritsar and that Mr. Irving could not deal with the situation. He speaks of the proclamation of the 13th. He went through the city personally for making the proclamation. Now it is not necessary to assume that the proclamation and warnings were read or understood by everyone in the crowd. There had been 'regrettable violence' the civil authorities confessed themselves powerless, and General Dyer had gone round the city with his orders. The civil authorities must have taken some action before they called in the military: some at least of the crowd must have heard and seen General Dyer, and news flies notoriously in India. Surely the obvious way to 'concert measures for preserving order' was to consult those whose business it was to preserve order, and the obvious way to court disaster was to assemble in a large crowd a collection of men which is quite unfit to "concert measures" of any kind. And if the city was peaceful what need was there for these measures?

Whether or no General Dyer was right in firing, as he did, whether he has committed a "regrettable" massacre or is the salvation of India, it is neither right nor pertinent to discuss. That is a matter for the committee, and, as we have already seen, it is most difficult to arrive at a right decision, even with all the evidence before one. What is pertinent is to show, as has been attempted, that the narrative of the brochure is contrary to all human probability and to all human experience. It is claimed that Sir

Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer, Colonel Johnson, Colonel O'Brien "and others" must be brought to trial, since "the guilty must be brought to trial." But if we have already decided that they are guilty, what is the use of trying them? Why not murder them off-hand, as they murdered the innocent and peaceful Punjabis? Or, again, if they are to be tried, why call them guilty before trial?

One need not dwell on the "forty or fifty boys and the baby of seven months" (printed in large type) who, it seems, unfortunately lost their lives. Surely it is not suggested that General Dyer specially selected these boys and the baby for his inhuman brutality. Nor need we do more than mention the electric fans which are "a necessity in the Indian climate," though there is not one Indian house in a thousand which has them, and until quite recently not a European house either. These things are side issues, but they do not indicate that judicial impartiality with which such a subject should be approached.

STANLEY RICE,  
*Secretary, East India Association.*

## DRAMATIC NOTES

"IN THE NIGHT"—*St Martin's Theatre*

This play, adapted from the French of Simon Piernard, is assured of a long run. It is the old story of the eternal triangle, but in this case the aggrieved party is a police magistrate with primitive standards of revenge to be carried into effect with very modern ideas of refined cruelty. The erring wife trembles through three acts, and the third party tries to look brave through the same ordeal. The knot is cut with the aid of an eccentric burglar who had seen too much, and therefore threatens the husband with ridicule. This burglar, a character that might have been drawn by Balzac, is really the making of the play, and is very ably acted by Mr Leslie Laker. Alfred Drayton as the police magistrate frightens his enemies and the audience.

## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

## INDIA

## INDIAN FINANCE AND BANKING

BY G. FINDIAV SHIRRAS

London *Macmillan* Pp 482 1919 18s net*(Reviewed by SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.)*

THIS volume has appeared opportunely, and will be a valuable help to the study of the Indian currency system, and of the changes made by the Orders recently passed by the Secretary of State on the Report of the Committee on Indian Exchange and Currency. The policy now adopted will have a far-reaching effect, not only on all who receive money from India, or have to remit it to that country, but also on the course of India's trade, on prices in India, and on the welfare of all classes of the population and especially of the poor. It will also have a considerable influence for some time to come on prices in this country and in the world generally. As Mr Shirras is Director of Statistics with the Government of India, and was for some years on special duty in the Finance Department of that Government, he speaks with authority on this subject, although, as he says in his Preface, he alone is responsible for the contents of the book.

He gives an excellent summary of the history of Indian currency during the last hundred years, including an account of the various crises through which it has come, of the discussions which ensued, and of the orders passed by the Secretary of State from time to time. In reading this account one is struck by the extremely complicated character



of the question, by the diversity of the views expressed by the experts whose opinions are quoted, by the great difficulties with which the working of the system has been confronted from time to time, and by the success with which on the whole those difficulties were surmounted by the responsible authorities. His description of the Indian banking system is of especial interest at present, when it seems to be practically settled that the three Presidency banks will be amalgamated into one Imperial Bank of India and that there will be a more rapid development throughout the country of banking on Western lines.

Not the least valuable part of the book are the tables, which give the most trustworthy statistics available connected with the working of the currency. They throw light upon India's marvellous capacity of absorbing the precious metals. According to these statistics the world's production of gold since the discovery of America has been to the value of over 3,500 million sovereigns of which no less than 1,500 millions' worth has been produced since the beginning of this century. As there must have been a considerable quantity of gold in the world in 1493, and as gold is practically indestructible it may be estimated that the world's existing stock of gold would make at least 3,500 million sovereigns and is about double what it was only twenty-five years ago. (What wonder that the gold prices of commodities have risen in the last twenty-five years and were rising rapidly before the war!) Mr Shirras shows that, including net imports and home production, India absorbed during the last twenty-five years no less than 215 million sovereigns' worth of gold, including a net import of 94 million sovereign coins since 1901. He estimates the present stock of gold in India at the equivalent of 372 million sovereigns which must be about one-tenth of the whole world's stock. During the five years before the war India absorbed 105 million sovereigns' worth, or more than one fifth of the world's production during those five years. Like most writers on the subject, he deplores this unprofit-

able habit of hoarding, and would like to see the Indian peasant give up his gold in exchange for notes or more useful commodities. But it must be remembered that there are 315 million people in India, so that the total stock of gold held in India is not much more than a sovereign per head of the population, while even now the banks in the United Kingdom hold gold to the amount of £3 per head of population, and the quantity held here in the shape of ornaments must also be considerable, and the United States at this moment hold in banks and in ornaments probably 1,000 million sovereigns' worth of gold, or about £10 per head of population. It is hardly for Western nations to blame the Indian peasant if he prefers to keep a part of his savings in the form of hoarded gold. At all events, it should be recognized that, if India had not absorbed so large a proportion of the world's new production of gold, gold prices of commodities throughout the world would inevitably have risen at a greater rate than they did before the war.

Since the war began, India has been starved of gold owing to the restrictions placed upon its movement from one country to another, and during the five years ending March 31, 1919, has been able to add to its stock only 34 million pounds worth of gold, as compared with the actual addition of 105 millions during the five years before the war. One result of these restrictions has been that the rupee price of gold in India rose rapidly from the pre-war rate of 15 rupees to the sovereign, until last September it was over 20 rupees to the sovereign. The Indian Government then began to sell considerable quantities of gold to the highest bidder, and at its first sale obtained an average price equivalent to 16.80 rupees to the sovereign. The price obtained at these sales went down to 15.46 rupees on September 17, but has since risen again, and at the sale of gold on January 19 the price obtained was equivalent to 16.78 rupees to the sovereign. On February 3, after the announcement of the Secretary of State's orders, the Bombay quotation was equivalent to 16.32 rupees to the sovereign. The Government of India

have now, in accordance with a recommendation of the Currency Commission, announced that during the next six months they will sell not less than 15 million tolas of gold (equivalent to 24 million sovereigns), without any minimum limit, the Government reserving the right to refuse any tender. It will be interesting to see what effect on the rupee price of the sovereign the sale of this large quantity of gold will have. It can hardly bring the price below 15 rupees to the sovereign because under the Secretary of State's orders, for the present the sovereign remains legal tender at the rate of 15 rupees. It is possible that it may not even bring down the permanent price of the sovereign to 15 rupees, because India has been so starved of gold during the last five years that even so large a quantity as 24 million sovereigns worth may not suffice to meet the demand. Meanwhile, the Government of India can at present buy gold in London at about 120s per ounce and as the rate of exchange in depreciated British paper currency is at present 2s 7½d per rupee it can land the gold in India at a cost of about 12 rupees to the sovereign, so that it should make a very satisfactory profit for the Indian tax payer out of its gold monopoly.

Mr Shirras estimates the total stock of silver in India at 3 729 million ounces (enough to make nearly 11,000 million rupees). This must equal about one fourth of the present world's stock of silver and at the rate of 2s to the rupee (measured in gold) would be equivalent in value to 1,100 million sovereigns. During the five years before the war, the net import of silver into India was 310 million ounces, but during the five years ending with March, 1919, it was 492 million ounces. During the last year of the latter period, the net import was no less than 237 million ounces, while the world's new production during that year was probably not more than 180 million ounces. This greatly enhanced demand of India for silver was no doubt largely due to the restriction on the import of gold, and (combined with a concurrent enhanced demand from China and other

countries) was the principal cause of the enormous rise during the last two years in the world's price of silver, and consequently in the exchange value of the rupee. The people of India were able to compel the Government to import silver in immense quantity, and to coin it into rupees in order to maintain the convertibility of its excessive paper issue, and during the year ending March 31, 1919, the Mints in India were in this way compelled to coin no less than 515 million rupees (including small silver). The greater part of these new rupee coins must evidently have disappeared into hoards; and, while it is no doubt one of the first duties of a civilized government to provide its subjects with the currency they desire for circulation, it can hardly be its duty to furnish them with an unlimited number of coins for the purpose of hoarding. There is the further disadvantage in the recent great addition to the number of rupee coins in India that, when the price of silver measured in gold falls—as it seems likely to do—and the value of the silver in a rupee is again much below one-tenth of the value of the gold in a sovereign, the existence of such an enormous quantity of token rupee coins (now about 4,000 millions) may make it difficult, if not impossible, for the Secretary of State to maintain the exchange value of the rupee at 2s, reckoned in gold, in accordance with the policy he has recently announced.

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A GUIDE TO THE INDIA OFFICE RECORDS, 1600-1858 By William Foster, C.I.E., Registrar and Superintendent of Records (London Printed for the India Office) 1919 2s net

(Reviewed by the DEAN OF WINCHESTER.)

Those who have worked among the manuscripts at the India Office must often have felt the need of a compendious guide to what is to be found there. In spite of the knowledge and kindness of officials, time is inevitably wasted in the search. Mr. S. C. Hill's catalogue of the Orme manuscripts has already proved of considerable value to students. Now Mr. William Foster has produced a guide to all the different classes of documents under his charge which will make work comparatively easy. Rarely does so small a book contain so much useful information.

How necessary it has been to keep an eye upon the destructive habits of

officials, even in quite recent times, is to be seen from what Mr Foster tells in his interesting preface, that even so lately as the time of Sir John Kaye, "It was contemplated to destroy the minutes of the India Board, but fortunately this proposal was dropped while the records of the Court of Sadr Diwani were only saved by the interposition of Sir George Clarke, the Under Secretary of State, who suggested that it would be wise to ascertain first whether the original records were available in Calcutta."

A number of official lists has, of course, been issued in past years, but these have not been accessible to the public, and use of the press lists will in some cases still be necessary in order to identify a volume that may be required, but Mr Foster's extremely lucid and interesting introduction to each section of the records, with his clear enumeration of the different volumes or bundles will reduce the beginner's labour to a minimum. When it is remembered that the number of documents dealt with is something like forty eight thousand, the magnitude of the task which Mr Foster has accomplished will be recognized. Not only is he to be congratulated and warmly thanked for what he has done, but this seems a suitable opportunity to express how greatly indebted are all who study the history of British India, whether in the manuscripts of the India Office or in the records which have been printed, to the energy, knowledge, and courtesy of Mr Foster and his assistants.

## NEAR EAST

THE TURKS IN EUROPE By W F D Allen With Preface by Brigadier General Surtees (*Murray*) 10s 6d

At a time when Turkey's ultimate fate is so much discussed and opinions are voiced everywhere as contradictory as they are numerous, a book such as Mr Allen's, giving a concise, but nevertheless complete survey of the Ottoman people is much to be recommended. In his opening chapter the author puts the question "How was it possible for an obscure tribe of nomad shepherds from the steppes of Central Asia to impose its dominion upon at least a dozen nations of Europe?" and he refers to this same question again at the end of his book.

He answers it in the following way "A study of the history of the Balkans for the last 500 years is the illuminating clue to the Turks being left so long in possession of the most beautiful spot in the world—Constantinople and the shores of the Bosphorus. The fact is that the eternal vultures gathered round the eternal corpse. Neither the Treaty of Carlovicz, although it meant the first partition of Turkey, nor the Treaty of Versailles in 1763—still less the Congress of Vienna—brought any vital solution. The table of the history of the Near East is littered with scraps of paper. Intolerance, savagery, callousness, exploitation, down to all centuries, to the twentieth century. Yet it has been generally agreed that the Turkish Question and the Balkan claims might have had a chance to be settled at the Treaty of Bucharest in 1912, when Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro combined in attacking the Turk."

Mr Allen rightly points out "that human nature is such that man is spoiled by victory. The Nationalist proves himself to be an Imperialist by victory, and the Patriot develops into an Annexationist." To Serbians and Greeks the Second Balkan War appeared to be a deliverance, a crowning mercy, but six years of subsequent history have sufficed to show that it was not only for Bulgarians, but for Serbians, Greeks, and Rumanians alike, an unmitigated catastrophe. Indeed, the Treaty of Bucharest, instead of bringing peace, a permanent Balkan League, and an amicable settlement with Turkey, worked for the future "great war which exploded in 1914. And now, after years of a most terrible warfare, we in Europe still find ourselves confronted by the same Eastern Question. The much coveted possession of Constantinople has certainly not meant for Turkey the dominion of the world, as it would have meant for Napoleon. He it was who, placing his finger on that spot of the map after his meeting at Tilsit with Alexander I, who claimed Constantinople for Russia, exclaimed passionately "Constantinople, Constantinople, never, for it is the Empire of the World!" Yet there was a time, if we look centuries back, when the Turks, under their great Sultans (1359-1566), Othman, Orkan, Murad and Bayazid, Mohamed the Conqueror, Selim, and Soliman the Magnificent, had attained a world power which threatened Europe. And here we must recall the fact that Turkey, in her Augustean age under Suleiman, with whom the shrewd Francis I had thought it advisable to form an alliance, not only had an army composed of the valiant and much redoubted Janissaries, but that she had also a navy which reigned supreme in the Mediterranean.

The story of the rise of Turkish sea-power, says Mr Allen, "is one of the most amazing chapters in history. The huge red bearded Kheir ed din a Greek from Mytilene, beginning with a single pirate galley, created for Suleiman in a few years a fleet which dominated the Mediterranean. From their bases, including Toulon, his Corsair admirals carried their raids, not only along the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy, but even as far as Ireland and England. At sea Suleiman's arms, as on land, were crowned with success. Without exaggeration it can be stated that throughout his reign this powerful Sultan was the arbiter of Europe, and that, because he ruled with a rare enlightenment and toleration over an Empire which included not only Sunnis and Shiis, but large populations of Roman Catholics, Orthodox Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. Unfortunately for Turkey, Suleiman was succeeded by Sultans who were cowardly and sensual degenerates, under whom the centre of administration was transferred from the so-called Divan to the harem. Voltaire, writing of one of these later Sultans, describes them as shut up in their harem among their women and eunuchs, seeing only through the eyes of their Grand Viziers most of them incapable and given to corruption. It is true, as Mr. Allen maintains, that Suleiman had first made harem influence paramount by his unbounded devotion to his concubine, the witty and attractive Roxelana, a Russian, who even succeeded in causing him to murder his own legitimate sons to make way for her son Selim to succeed." He was the first Sultan to neglect the advice of his Divan, or Grand Council of State, for that of

his favourites. Yet he had that greatest gift in rulers—the instinct to choose the right men for the right place, but he created a precedent which had disastrous results when pursued by his successors, nearly all lacking in balance and discernment.

In perusing Mr Allen's instructive book, it becomes clear to us that Turkey steadfastly declined after the death of the great Suleiman in 1566, and this owing to the misrule of most of her autocratic rulers. Even Mahmud II., who had the welfare of his country more at heart than his immediate predecessors and successors, could not arrest this decline. Nor later, did the Minister Midhat succeed, who tried to introduce reforms under the dissolute Abdul Assis, who eventually caused his death. The Young Turks, too, who then tried to avert the downward course of their country, were hindered in their endeavours by the fierce Abdul Hamid. And now that we have come to another turning point in Turkey's history, we may well ask ourselves what the next development may be. The feeling among Indian Moslems is well known. Is it expedient for Great Britain to give way and leave the Sultan to reside at Constantinople? Will Turkey find at last disinterested help from an unbiassed quarter which alone might save her?

Mr Allen concludes his highly interesting and, we may well say, under the circumstances, his important book, by quoting the well known essayist, Léon Ostrorog "More than any the Turks suffer . . .," and we may add, also the unlucky nations that have been under Turkish rule to this day.

L M R

## ART

MOSLEM ARCHITECTURE ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT By G L Rivoira Translated from the Italian by G McN Rushforth (*Oxford University Press*) 1918 £2 2s net

(Reviewed by DR T W ARNOLD, C I E)

In recent years one of the most fruitful fields of research in the history of architecture has been Asia Minor and the countries adjacent to it, particularly Syria and Mesopotamia. Excavations and detailed examination of the buildings at Samarra, Mshatta, Ukhaidir, Amida, etc., have borne fruitful results and have provided a mass of fresh materials unknown to any earlier generation of students. Not only has much light been thrown on the early history of Moslem architecture, but important modifications have been suggested in regard to former theories of the relations between the architecture of East and West. In the field of study none has been more active than Professor Strzygowski, who in a number of publications has emphasized the importance in architectural development of the influence of the East. In opposition to the prevailing opinion which credited the Romans with the invention of the arch and the dome, and ascribed to Roman monuments the first impulse out of which grew the cathedrals and other great buildings of the Western world during the

Middle Ages, Professor Strzygowski claims priority of inventive genius for the East. It was the Iranian genius, he maintains, that first employed the dome for monumental works of art, and the use of this architectural form first spread westward from the Mesopotamian valley. The study of the early monuments of Armenian Christian art has led him to the conclusion that it was from Asia Minor that Western Christianity first learned those forms of ecclesiastical architecture that later passed through such a rich and magnificent development in the Middle Ages. Similarly, Moslem architecture was represented by him as being genuinely Oriental in its origin, and as requiring no reference to Rome for the explanation of its sources.

To this opinion the whole of Commendatore Rivoira's thesis is in flat contradiction, and he reasserts the claim of Rome to be the teacher of both Oriental Christianity and of Islam in the art of building. His contention is that "it was in Pagan Rome that the conception of the annular rotunda, with columns or piers, vaulted and crowned with a true and proper dome was created and developed. All that the East did was occasionally to produce circular buildings of unbroken outline, with an internal colonnade designed as an additional support for the roof, which was usually conical in form. But whenever an Eastern architect wanted to cover the central space of such buildings with a vault, he had to turn to Roman models for the design" (pp. 59-60). He claims that the ideas embodied in the plans and construction of the great Roman buildings were spread abroad by means of Latin architects educated in the Roman school. Accordingly, he rejects the theory that has sometimes been upheld that the original plan of the Dome of Rock in Jerusalem was Byzantine or Hellenistic in origin, is being derived from Constantine's round churches, on the ground that these latter themselves owed their origin to Roman models. Similarly, he denies that the vaulted pendentive denotes Oriental influence, and traces it to the hemicycles used by the Romans as supports for domes.

Such are the main conclusions as to architectural origins enunciated by Commendatore Rivoira in the present work, and they are elaborated with a wealth of historical detail seldom found in technical treatises on architecture. The early history of the great archetypes of the ecclesiastical architecture of Islam, the first mosques built at Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Cairo, has never been presented to the English reader with such a fulness of detail, gathered from an immense variety of sources. Incidentally, in vindication of his main thesis, Commendatore Rivoira has collected a number of references to the foreign craftsmen who were borrowed by the early caliphs for the erection of these buildings, especially in Jerusalem and Damascus, and the large part played by Christian architects in the designing of them.

As the author indicates by the title of his book, he does not claim to have written a history of Moslem architecture as a whole, and his detailed study of the early mosques (which served as models for later constructions of the same character) in the chief centres of primitive Moslem culture forms the first main section of his work. He then passes on to Armenian



ecclesiastical architecture, and as an increasing amount of attention is now being paid to Armenia, English readers will welcome the ample materials here provided for the study of a branch of Christian art that has hitherto received scant recognition in our literature. His conclusions are briefly that the main features of the Armenian church style, the apse, the cupola, and the pendentive, are of Romano-Ravennate origin. The last section of his book deals with Spain, and is mainly taken up with a patient investigation of the problem of the horseshoe arch in the Moslem architecture of Spain. The author shows that it was not invented by the Visigoths, and supports his contention by an examination of the few genuine Visigothic churches that have survived, distinguishing between what is authentic and what is later addition to, or reconstruction of, the original structure. Neither in the Visigothic buildings nor in those erected by the Moslems in the early period of their occupation of Spain, was the horseshoe arch adopted, and the author shows that its introduction into Spain was due to Abd al Rahman I (756-788), and that it was first used as a constructive element in the great mosque at Damascus, that was built with such extraordinary magnificence by the caliph Walid (705-715).

Such, in brief outline, is the substance of this work published in an attractive form by the Oxford University Press. It is abundantly illustrated, mainly by photographs of the buildings described, but also by plans, several of which are taken from little-known MSS. The author rightly anticipated that his book would arouse controversy, but added, "it is often from the contact of opposing views that a spark of light is struck." Any work that arouses interest in Moslem culture at the present time is welcome, and the artistic side of this culture found such pre-eminent and remarkable expression in architecture, largely through its connection with religion, that Commendatore Rivoira's book ought to find many readers. It is a matter for deep regret that his untimely death has cut short a literary activity so stimulating and of such special interest to English students.

It is unfortunate that the translation was not submitted to the scrutiny of some Orientalist before being sent to press. Some errors in personal names might thus have been avoided—e.g., Nasiri Khusrau becomes generally Nasiri Kusrû, and on p. 57 Nasiri Kursu. Several other names are written according to the Italian method of transliteration, with strange results in an English text. Ignorance of Arabic has led the translator several times to write *Madinet* (city) for *Minaret*—e.g., p. 93 *Madinet Isa* (*Minaret of Jesus*), p. 91 *Madinet al Arus* (*Minaret of the Wife*), it should be, rather, *Minaret of the Bride*. But these are trifling blemishes in a work that throughout exhibits a careful and minute scholarship.

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## GENERAL

MY FRENCH YEAR By Constance Elizabeth Maud (*Mills and Boon*)  
10s. 6d. net.

"Lest we forget." The great clarion call in the midst of this war has, contrary to the expectations of all but the incorrigible cynic, become

fainter. The pleadings of international finance, the claims of trade interests have sought to envelop in a cloud of oblivion the deathless deeds of comradeship in arms. In this atmosphere of selfishness and mutual recrimination, the words of Miss Constance Maud are like the fresh wind of truth which scatters the clouds of misunderstanding, to brace our nerves and admonish us to remember our friends. This volume should be on the shelves of all students of the Eastern Question, and we hope their number is increasing. They should not forget that, in solving the Syrian question, the far sighted policy is to co-operate with France, and to hold sacred her martyrdom in the Great War.

Our Mahometan readers in particular will be touched by the following quotation

'A little corner was reserved for the Mahometans of the Senegalese regiments, their graves marked by the Crescent and Star, together with the French colours and a verse of the Koran. The Great War has gathered into one fold all nationalities, all religions all classes, the Cross and the Crescent, the white and the black races. Monsieur le Duc lies side by side with the peasant *poilu*, the same flag and the same inscription mark the simple graves—'Mort pour la patrie.'

The bodies of these heroes lie in the soil of France at Noyon, but their spirit survives, and their bravery and self sacrifice will be revered long after the present bickerings and misunderstandings are happily forgotten.

I R S

## RUSSIA

THE BOLSHÉVIK ADVENTURE. By John Pollock. (*Constable*) 7s 6d

(*Reviewed by* MAJOR-GENERAL COUNT A. CHERNOMIRIDOVICH)

Mr John Pollock's book, "The Bolshevik Adventure" is an important document on the character and achievements of the Bolsheviks, a fact attested by the violent animosity displayed by reviews in pro Bolshevik organs. Mr Pollock's equipment for his task is unimpeachable. A trained historian, having been one of the late Lord Acton's favourite pupils at Cambridge, he comes of a well known family, being the son and heir of the Rt Hon Sir Frederick Pollock. His previous study of Russia ("War and Revolution in Russia") proves him a man of liberal instincts and accurate observation. Moreover, he speaks Russian fluently, having lived and travelled in the country for four years and was a witness of the Bolshevik regime, not from the point of view of a personally conducted official, but from that of a private individual forced to make the best he could of everyday life.

His account of the many months which he spent disguised as a Letish communist from America, ending with his arrest, narrow escape from torture and death, and dangerous flight across the frozen sea to Finland, forms one of the most thrilling narratives of contemporary literature.

We are here, however, less concerned with Mr Pollock's work as good reading than with the results of his observations in Russia since October

1917, when the Bolsheviks reappeared after their failure in July. Two main conclusions may be drawn. First, the Bolshevik rule is one of alien force, imposed by "The Hidden Hand," supported by Lettish, Chinese, and Magyar bayonets, loathed alike by all the people, including the peasants and, after a brief period of delusion, workmen, as well as the *intelligentsia*. Second, that Bolshevism was established by Germany, has been intimately linked with Germany throughout its history, and is directed for the advantage of Germany and the *defeat and disruption of the British Empire*. Mr Pollock's account of two episodes, little known here, is illuminating: we mean the murder of Count Mirbach, the German Ambassador in Moscow, in July, 1918, and the suppression of the rising at Yaroslavl shortly afterwards.

Mirbach, according to Mr Pollock and my own experience, was practically dictator of Moscow, had some thirty thousand troops in the city, and direct telegraphic communication with Berlin. For his advent Moscow was placed *en fete* and put again into some sort of order. A characteristic touch is that to celebrate the occasion the statue of Skobelev, the enemy of the Germans—who was poisoned by them—was destroyed by the Bolsheviks.

As soon as Count Mirbach saw my very anti-German Review, *Slavia*, he ordered my son, who, in collaboration with me and another son, was editor of *Slavia*, to be arrested.

*Slavia* appealed to the nation to cast out the Germans.

During that crucial time for the Allies when, in March and April, the Germans pressed the Allies "to the wall," according to general knowledge, *Slavia* circulated leaflets and encouraged and incited all the anti-Germans by proclaiming "*Germany's defeat is imminent.*" Such strenuous propaganda from a man whom the Germans knew to be a "prophet" and a "Verbissener Deutschen-fresser" (according to the famous Theodore Wolff, editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*) compelled Germany to detain in Russia a considerable number of her troops, which otherwise might have helped the Germans to push on to Paris.

But alas! my two most beloved sons have paid for this service by their dear lives. When those leaflets headed "Germany's débâcle is imminent" had inspired the hearts of the Czechs and given birth to the "white troops," Mr Wordrup—the British Consul-General in Moscow—showed me No. 79 of the Official "Izvestia," with a terrific warning to me.

"General, stop your most dangerous propaganda, otherwise no Titanic Force on earth can save you." My sons and I, however, decided to continue, and answered by a new issue of *Slavia* with renewed appeals to cast out the criminal Germans and to create a *defensive line* along the Volga, fighting for each village.

I even wrote to Trotsky: "I consent to become *your strong supporter*, if you will undertake to renew the war against Germany, and I promise you that she will surely be beaten."

The new issue of *Slavia* and my letter decided the enemies to act. Both my sons were foully murdered after forty-eight hours of torture. I

went up to the tiger's mouth, to the Commission, and saw first its President, Derjinsky, and the next time the Vice-President, Sachs. It became clear to me that Bolshevism is only a camouflaged "Hidden Hand." The nephew of the German Ambassador—Baron Mirbach—even lived in the Commission's apartments and kept his own motor-car there. Then also I discovered the marvellous intuition and foresight of Mr Winston Churchill. People here stupidly ridiculed his ardent desire to annihilate, at any cost, that most dangerous man called "Peter the Painter," in Sidney Street, Houndsditch, who, assuming the name of Peters, was one of Berlin's best agents, trying to promote anarchy here.

"Peters" was the soul of this Commission. He signed death sentences by thousands, leaving blank spaces for the names of the victims, and handed all these to Baron Mirbach, who inscribed the names, or he asked the Count—the Ambassador of Germany—for those names.

Both Derjinsky and Sachs asked me personally.

"Was it you, General, who, in 1905, sent the so called 'Latin Telegrams'?"

These telegrams decided the War to agree to the Anglo Russian Entente after seventy seven years of mutual, senseless mistrust between two great peoples.

I answered: "Yes, I sent them."

Derjinsky, who is a Pole, as my mother was, and to whom I spoke in my mother's tongue, was much overcome and said sadly:

"I shall do my utmost to save you, General, and both your sons."

Sachs became fierce on hearing the same thing from me later. With wild joy he went to ring the bell, but a sudden demoniacal smile distorted his face and he shouted:

"Go, General, you are still free."

Next day in the official organ appeared in huge letters:

*'The Imperial Guard Officers [my sons] were shot for State treason.'*

It was a sunny Sunday, but they were tortured until Tuesday. No Russian soldiers would consent to murder them, and at last Letts did so. Even the most revolutionary paper dared to protest:

*"At least permit those unfortunates to see the sky in their last moments. Do not assassinate them in hidden cellars like rats."*

Unknown people came to shake me by the hand and promised revenge.

It was the last straw which decided Mirbach's fate. Derjinsky protested against my execution. He said that my death would be too small a punishment and promised them to kill me later, when my unendurable grief should have driven me mad.

Then I published my last *Slavia*, with the portraits of my beloved sons, and again warning that Germany would be defeated.

The day when Mirbach was annihilated I disappeared from Moscow, and escaped to General Frederick Poole, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in Murmansk, asking him to bring his troops up against the Bolsheviks.

Once again the marines of General Maynard saved me, when I was arrested near Kem by the Bolsheviks, who did not yet know that he had

arrived there We could surely have taken Moscow if General Frederick Poole had simply had 30,000 soldiers instead of only five or six thousand

Mirbach, Mr Pollock points out, was assassinated by the Social Revolutionaries, who realized that Russia was being sold to Germany by the Bolsheviks, a view confirmed by Trotsky's comment on the deed, that it was aimed, not against Berlin, but against the Soviet power And at Yaroslavl, when the Russians rose against the Bolshevik tyranny, the rebellion was put down, not by Russian troops, but by Germans under a German officer If General Poole had then arrived with even 10,000 soldiers Bolshevism would have been doomed Behind every move in the Bolshevik game Mr Pollock shows the "Hidden Hand," and in a powerful piece of rhetoric attempts to rouse his readers against the policy that the "Hidden Hand" has imposed on Great Britain ever since the *Prinkipo* negotiations His view is that unless we put down the Bolsheviks they will put us down "*Down with the Bolsheviks!*" he says must be the modern version of "*Delenda est Carthago!*"

While actual atrocities do not figure in Mr Pollock's book, he draws a graphic picture of the terrible state of misery and degradation to which the Bolshevik rule has reduced Russia He shows the peasant refusing to produce, the friends of Great Britain slaughtered, the cities artificially starved, anarchy created deliberately so that it might afford an excuse for despotism The chapters on "Communism in Practice" and "Hungry Petrograd" set forth an array of facts that are damning to the system responsible for them They must be read in order to be appreciated and, were governments moved by evidence, would constitute an absolute bar against any project of dealing with the Bolsheviks either commercially or diplomatically

In a Preface addressed to the late Major R. M. Johnstone, the American military critic whose work on the United States staff attracted such attention Mr Pollock touches on the faults of "Allied Policy in Russia" His prediction, based on knowledge of the Bolshevik plans, of the attack to be made on our Eastern empire, has already received striking fulfilment

"The Bolshevik Adventure" is brilliantly written It should be in the hands of everyone who pretends to form a judgment on the most vital problem of our day

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## QUOTATIONS FROM PERIODICALS

### A GREAT AMBASSADOR

WE have received a copy of *Millard's Review of the Far East*, containing an authoritative account of the work in China, extending over forty three years, of Sir John Jordan, K. C. M. G., Minister Plenipotentiary at Peking since 1906 We quote as follows

"An old and experienced Englishman has given five reasons as to why this great British statesman and diplomat is a successful minister, and they possess more than average interest, summarizing as they do the foregoing considerations of the various characteristics of Sir John The first

reason is Sir John's intimate knowledge of China and the Chinese language, and his experience with the Chinese. The second reason is his surpassing ability. The third reason is his high sense of honour and justice. Fourthly, Sir John is absolutely devoted to his duty. The fifth reason is his persistent hard work. These are five reasons for his success in China. 'Sir John,' said the old gentleman, 'has a high sense of honour and justice. If any injustice has ever been done to China, it is not Sir John who has done it or countenanced it. He is the last man who would do anything dishonourable.'

### THE MEDITERRANEAN TANGLE

In the March issue of the *Fortnightly Review*, Mr H. Charles Woods concludes an important article, entitled "British Interests in the Mediterranean" as follows:

To summarize and to recapitulate, it may be said that even if the defeat of the Central Empires and the disappearance of their fleets removes a formerly existing threat to our sea power, that power cannot be securely and permanently safeguarded without adequate forethought as to the distribution of territories in themselves possessed of weighty strategic significance. The Mediterranean, the Igean, the Dardanelles and the Black Sea are maritime areas the situations in which are vital to the safety of the British Empire. The suggested cession of Cyprus may be resented by those who have not studied the problem and it may be resisted by naval authorities, who are rightly opposed to sacrifices, however relatively unimportant they may be. But if it becomes a choice between the maintenance of an antiquated pistol, pointing towards the coasts of Syria and Southern Asia Minor and the acquisition of an all important *point d'appui* at the entrance to the Dardanelles, then there seems little doubt as to the proper policy of adoption by British statesmanship.

### ARTICLES TO NOTE

- The Wide World Magazine* (March) "Across Unknown Arabia in Disguise" by H. St. I. B. Philby, C.I.E., I.C.S.  
*The Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* (February) "The Turkish Army in the Great War," by Lieut. Colonel C. C. R. Murphy, I.A.  
*The Royal Engineers Journal* (March) "The Works Directorate, Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force."  
*The Mid Pacific Magazine* "Canton—Centre of New South China," by S. R. Brown.  
*Russo-British Chamber of Commerce Journal* (February) "Siberia from the Canadian Point of View" by F. A. Brayley-Hodgetts.  
*The Wireless World* (March) "Wireless Telegraphy in the Red Sea during the War," by Commander G. Montefinale.  
*The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (Vol. I, Part III) "The Popular Literature of Northern India," by Sir George Grierson.  
*Britain and India* (March) "Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru," by the Editor.  
*Revue des Balkans*, Paris (February) "L'Arménie renaissante," by Boghos Nubar Pacha.  
*Indian Periodicals* "Hindu Colonization of Java," by O. Coomaraswamy.  
*Japanese Periodicals, Japan Magazine* (January) "Economic Menace," by Baron T. Kuki.



## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,  
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

[The Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp 217  
295 The Lecture for April 19th will be "India and the Covenant of  
the League of Nations," by K. Gauba, and for May "Tamil Proverbs  
a Key to the Language and to the Mind of the People" by S. G.  
Roberts (I.C.S. retired)]

### INDIAN MUSIC

BY STANLEY RICE, I.C.S. (RETD.)

*(Summary of a Lecture delivered before the Incorporated Society of Musicians  
at the Polytechnic, Regent Street)*

FAR from music being the universal language, the music of the ancients is quite unintelligible to-day, and the music of Asia and Africa has no meaning for the European. It can, however, be learnt, it is only the ignorant who despise what they cannot understand. The proper view to take of Indian music, which dates back into the far distant past, is that it is an unexplored branch of the art differing from, and yet existing side by side with, our own.

The influence of religion on all art, except perhaps architecture, has always been restrictive and tyrannical. Just as in painting Botticelli burst the religious bonds and introduced secular art, so in music the fetters in which the monks had bound her were broken by Haydn, by Gluck, and especially by Mozart. Since the revolt was established we have been given absolute and vocal music in superb quality and in quantity almost unlimited.

In India religion has not yet lost its hold on music and that for two main reasons. Religion, both in its esoteric and its ceremonial forms, enters so completely into the everyday life of the people that it would be strange if it did not largely control the music. Moreover, the music has been handed down through the ages and, as there is no notation, it is traditional. There are, of course, love songs, and there is also folk-music, but, for the reasons given, the best music is religious and the art is, therefore, hampered because excursions into absolute music or into the many branches of song must be restricted by the dominant idea.

Indian music is entirely melodic, and so differs fundamentally from the harmonic music of Europe. Viewed in this way, Indian music has not

developed to the same extent as that of Europe, since the combination required by an orchestra must connote a higher stage of development than mere melodic variations on a single instrument. The usual composition of an Indian "orchestra" is one leading instrument, the vina, the flute, the violin (imported from Europe), or the human voice, accompanied by the drum, the most characteristic of all Indian instruments, and the harmonium to give the drone or pedal note. With these instruments they produce variation after variation, based upon the ancient "rags," or themes, and performed with the most astonishing flexibility. This capacity for infinite variation is the chief glory of the Indian art, and Indians esteem highly the musician who can not only reproduce the works of the great masters but can add variations of his own. In Southern India the names of some of these masters are Thiagarajayya, the acknowledged king, Somayya Sastri, Dekshitulu and Subramania Aiyar—all Brahmins.

The most characteristic Indian instruments are the vina, the flute, and the drum. The vina is a kind of guitar with four strings regulated by frets and one free or open string which gives the basic note. The flute is a simple hollow bamboo with holes for the stops, and is said to be the same as that on which Krishna played. The drum is barrel shaped and the skin at each end is composed of circles of different thickness, so that it is capable of great variety when played with the different parts of the hand—the tips of the fingers, the open palm, and so forth. The violin is an importation from Europe and is well adapted to the minutely subdivided Indian scales. It is held, not under the chin, but downwards, as we hold the cello. The concerts are arranged on the plan of a recital. To-day the vina will be the leading instrument, to-morrow the flute, the day after the human voice—male or female. The players sit on a dais on the floor, the principal performer in the centre, the drum on his right, and the harmonium on his left. The pedal, or basic note, is given by the harmonium, and then the leading instrument strikes in, but the drum is silent. This is the "rag," a complete movement in itself. The Hindu audience will follow every note of it, beating time and humming the music. Then comes the "krithi," or the variations by the master, into which the drum enters, after the "krithi" is the "pallava," or variations by the performer, and lastly, if the artist is capable of it, an astonishing solo on the drum.

The rest of the concert is of the same description, but every new piece has its charm for the Indian audience. They value especially the power to vary the work even of a master, to play the notes, they think, always in the same way, exactly as they are written, destroys freshness and elasticity. That is one of their chief arguments against notation, for if you have the written note before you you tend to become a slave to it. They will admit that no two pieces are played quite alike, but would argue that diversity of temperament is not enough. The player should be able to put more of his own personality into the music. A school, however, is growing up which favours notation, which, it is recognized, gives the best chance of progress.



England has done nothing to help On the contrary, what music is taught at all is bad European music, atrociously taught It is just as well that it is left to the Hindus themselves to look after their own art, though under present conditions it must remain unprogressive

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On Thursday, February 19, Mr H Charles Woods delivered an interesting lecture on "Constantinople and the Straits," at the National Liberal Club The Hon Aubrey Herbert, M P (in the chair), introduced the lecturer as one of the experts on the Near East, and added that Englishmen can move about in the Near East as welcome friends of all these antagonistic nationalities

Mr Woods, after paying a tribute to the late Sir Edwin Pears, whom he called the greatest British authority on Constantinople and Turkey, declared that the importance of the Near Eastern question had been consistently ignored This had again been shown now by the delay in settling Turkey We now perceived the consequences in the encouragement given to the Young Turks and the new massacres of Armenians There were two main dangers to be guarded against (1) Pan Germanism, (2) misgovernment of the non Turkish people With regard to Constantinople, he recommended that the Turks should remain there, but that some form of control was needed over the land on either side of the Strait He recalled in this connection Mr Lloyd George's pledge and the announcement of H H The Aga Khan and Mr Ameer Ali This would eliminate the rivalry of Greeks and Bulgarians, and the Turks could be better put under European control Moreover, the city was in majority Moslem by race Armenia should be either independent of Turkey or a suzerainty ought to be maintained in a shadowy form He suggested a High Commissioner, responsible to the League of Nations In Asia Minor the Turks should be kept in Anatolia which is their own homeland but with due protection for the Christians

The Hon Aubrey Herbert paid a tribute to the loyalty of Indian Moslems during the war, and said that we had been able to enjoy it because they relied on our word and knew that their religion would never be touched

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There was a meeting on Saturday, February 21, of the Budokwai at 15, Lower Grosvenor Place S W 1, when Dr Inazo Nitobe (who, it will be remembered, contributed an article on Japanese Colonization to the January issue of the *ASIANIC REVIEW*) lectured on the subject of Japanese women, in which he laid special stress on their great influence in the home, and testified that their stature had greatly increased during the last generation

Mr H Shepherd, M R C S, L R C P, was in the chair

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There was a meeting of the Central Asian Society in the rooms of the Royal Astronomical Society on Wednesday, February 18, when the Hon W G M Ormsby Gore, M P, lectured on British responsibilities in the Middle East, and pleaded eloquently for the establishment of a special

department in London to deal with the affairs of those parts. He expressed the hope that private enterprise, as far as possible, would take the place of State control. The Civil Service should be a small staff of highly trained and excellently paid officials who ought to begin their careers in the Middle East, and be removable if unsatisfactory. Lord Carnock (in the chair) expressed his approval of the lecturer's views, and Sir Francis Younghusband also spoke.

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There was a meeting of the Oriental Circle of the Lyceum Club on Thursday, February 12, when Sir Sankaran Nair delivered an address on Hinduism, which was closely followed by a large company, including Princess Dulep Singh, Miss Powell (Hon Sec.), Miss Beck, Maha Dingeri Singh, Mrs Wingrove Cook (in the chair), Mrs Josephine Ransom, Madame O'Donnell, Miss Manning, Mr K N Das Gupta, Mrs Pope, Miss Mehta, Mrs John Maltwood, Mrs White, Major Graham Pole, Mrs French Sheldon.

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The Armenian Committee in London gave a dinner at the Carlton Hotel on February 28 in honour of His Beatitude the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, His Excellency Nubar Pasha and Mr Akaronian representing the Armenian Republic. The Patriarch declared that he was deeply moved by the sympathy that had been accorded him and his country everywhere in England. It was tragic to think that massacres were still taking place in Armenia. Nubar Pasha pointed out that the questions of Constantinople and Armenia must be kept apart, and there had been an unfortunate tendency to confuse them. Mr Akaronian described the sufferings that his countrymen had undergone through the ages. The dawn was at last approaching. Mr Aneurin Williams, M P, said that at the time when Byron wrote the freedom of Greece seemed still a distant dream—to be realized a few years later. The great dreams about Armenia, and many other countries in the Near East, were now, too, to come true. Mr Malcolm (in the chair) announced that Mr Harold Buxton had that evening arrived from Cilicia with the latest news. Sir J D Rees, M P, in an amusing speech, replying to the toast of the Houses of Parliament, paid a tribute to the Lords, where members had such far greater facilities of obtaining a proper hearing than in the Commons.

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There was a meeting of the China Society on February 26 at the School of Oriental Studies, when a paper was read by Captain Inman on the Burmese Shan States, where he had served as a frontier officer. He described the country as worthy of development. Silver and lead mines were in existence, the Southern Shan States Syndicate was carrying on mining operations in 1914. Teak wood was found in the Salween Valley. Further, there were the wood oil, silk-cotton, and paper mulberry trees, as well as the giant bamboo.

Sir Frederick Fryer paid a tribute to the work of our frontier officers whose lives were lonely, and, at first, were in constant peril from head-hunting savages, who greatly hindered railway construction.

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We have received the following from the Russian Relief and Reconstruction Fund

"The situation in Russia is a rapidly changing one. It has been so since the first days of the Revolution, and transformations, both rapid and complete, are likely to continue until some constitutional form of government emerges from the present chaos. Under these circumstances it is difficult to attempt a rigid definition of the future activities of the Russian Relief and Reconstruction Fund.

"This Fund has come into existence to render moral and material support to Russia, and especially to strengthen the hands of those in that country who, while they desire its stabilization on firm and sure foundations, cannot be suspected of reactionary tendencies.

"In establishing itself, the first object of the Fund was to seek the co-operation of all existing Anglo-Russian organizations, both philanthropic and commercial, so that the greatest possible British effort might be brought to bear on the solution of the problem Russia presents. Most of these organizations are now represented on its Committee.

"The primary purpose of the Fund in its work in Russia will be through the medium of a carefully chosen English personnel, to promote relief work—*i.e.*, care of destitute children, medical work, distribution of clothing and food, etc., in order to alleviate the appalling suffering caused to the masses of Russia as the result of the war and continued revolution and civil strife.

"At the same time, the Committee of the Fund believes that the most efficacious way of rendering help is by aiding and promoting the sending out, on a large scale, of such manufactured goods, medicaments, and means of transport as this country can supply, in exchange for food products, minerals, and raw materials, which in various districts of Russia are obtainable in abundance."

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The Indian Caliphate Delegation was received by the Prime Minister on Friday, March 19th, when Sir William Duke and Mr H A L Fisher were also present. An official report of the proceedings has been issued to the Press. On March 21st a meeting was held at the Mosque, Woking, and Mr Mohamed Ali delivered a speech, explaining the feelings of Indian Moslems, a report of which appeared in the *Morning Post* and other papers on the following day.

## GREEK NOTES

BY F R SCATCHERD

## I GREECE AND CONSTANTINOPLE

"Greece should have Constantinople Her hall mark is over all the stolen property —*From a private letter written by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*

THE acuteness of the Constantinople problem brings into relief the competence of Hellenism as the key to its solution. The Supreme Council seems to be gradually driven to the conclusion that an end must be put to the Turkish domination in Europe, and that this end can only be fittingly put by the Greek arms—thus avenging in a final battle against the hereditary foe of Hellenism the woes and throes of five centuries

Turkey in Europe has been no more than an army of occupation of alien countries, chiefly Hellenic since the middle of the fifteenth century The principle of self determination demands the departure of this army Greece is conscious of her mission to bring about this departure, and has been patiently waiting for the psychological moment to fulfil it Had it not been for this ideal, the Greek nation, long ere this, would have been buried under the pressure of its age long adversities, and even at this moment, when the Greek people is suffering as few other peoples in Europe, it is patiently expectant

Will the Supreme Council be sufficiently illumined to realize what Hellenism stands for in the world harassing Turkish question?

## II "WHAT ARE THE DEMANDS OF GREEK LABOUR? (M VENIZIOS)

For the moment Greece, in striking self abnegation, forgets all that she is enduring in the expectation of the signal to inaugurate her career of social reconstruction Events march so rapidly that the signal may be given before our next issue In the meantime it is fitting to present to our readers what a small but earnest party of reconstructionists, known as the Greek Labour League suggests as foundation principles for the future Greece

Some months ago the Greek Labour League issued a manifesto, circulated by the thousand not only in Greece but among Greek communities throughout America and elsewhere \*

It will be remembered that in Paris, M Venizelos asked M Drakoules what were the demands of Greek Labour This manifesto had already anticipated the Premier's question, reproduced in substance here, embodies three principles, confirmed by the three chief lessons of the Great War

- 1 Parliament can only consist of representatives of productive national exertion
- 2 The entire community is involved in any desired change
- 3 Economic solidarity among nations is the only guarantee of permanent peace

## III THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULT OF THE WAR

is that it has imposed the recognition of the *first principle*—namely, the democratic management of Industry Labour is thus shown to be the basic force in national life Hence one of the fundamentals of coming civilization is that the sovereign council of deputies must consist of representatives of Labour This principle does away with capitalistic tyranny, either in the form of Competitive Individualism or of State Socialism

\* A copy of the original manifesto can be obtained from M Photopoulos, Secretary, Greek Labour League, 40, Rue du Pirée, Athens, or from Mr Geo B Lewis, Secretary, 221, Wells St, Milwaukee, Wis, U S A

*This is Industrial Democracy which, by supplementing the inadequate political democracy, achieves true freedom*

This principle has animated the Greek Labour League since its foundation in 1908. While working for this ideal the League advocates details involved in the endeavour—details which are part of the urgent responsibilities of any government during this transitional period, and include: Proper housing and tolerable economic conditions for the producers of wealth, ensured by stamping out profiteering, chronic and acute, by taxation of war wealth, by land nationalization, by organization of industries which cannot be efficiently organized by individuals—the suspension of constitutional liberties imposed by war complications must not be prolonged, even for a day, after the settlement of the Bulgarian and Turkish questions.

The Greek Labour League is also expectant as regards developments in Russia. It does not condemn *bona fide* experiments such as the Russian change, but it does condemn anarchy and violence. So far, Bolshevism has shown itself no less tyrannical than, say, the ideals of Prussian Socialism, or English Individualism. The League holds that no Labour Commonwealth can be complete which disregards the *intellectual factor* of national labour. Syndicalism is unthinkable, because it limits its consideration to manual workers only. Internationalism, Labour legislation, and Democratic management of all wealth—these are the essentials.

#### IV THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY MUST BE ORGANIZED

for the attainment of any object involving the common weal. This is the *second principle* confirmed by the second lesson derived from the necessities for carrying out the war. Whatever forces have been utilized for war must be utilized for peace, and it is the duty of the Government to utilize fruitfully all demobilized forces. *Minimum* wages, in conjunction with *maximum* prices, must be guaranteed by law also a *maximum* of income must be fixed.

The Ministry of Food must become permanent a Ministry of Health be created, while the Education budget must be increased fivefold. The object of education is to develop all possible talents for the good of the nation. Every child has a right to life, development, and technical training.

A government is an organized agency of the community, and the essentials of industry and commerce must be entrusted to it. Raw materials transport, communications, banks, manufacture of vital commodities—these are fundamentals of national well being, consequently the State, not the individual is responsible for them. Private landownership stands in the way of co-operativeness, and co-operativeness is the only guarantee of producers against parasites.

#### V NEW CONCEPTIONS OF PEACE

have been taught by the experiences of the war. It was thought that economic antagonism between nations was a guarantee of international peace—a conception now obsolete, it being generally recognized that the only antidotes against wars are *economic solidarity* and inter-dependence of nations. All nations which admit the axiom that no Government has sanction unless based on the unfettered consent of the people cannot but subscribe to the ideal of co-operation and federation between democratic countries for the attainment of Universal Peace.

Surely this is a basis of reconstruction worthy of the best ideals, and should Mr Venizelos succeed in organizing the forces of Hellenism in time of peace the blessings of social progress would redound to all.

Greece has never considered Constantinople as a national monopoly, therefore the Hellenic solution would promote the interests of the peoples of Asia Minor no less than those of the Balkan nations.

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

*JULY, 1920*

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## BRITAIN'S NEW RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

BY THE HON. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P.

THE Supreme Council of the Allies at San Remo decided, in April, to confer upon Great Britain the power of acting as mandatory, on behalf of the League of Nations, in Palestine and Mesopotamia, under Article 22 of the Covenant entered into by the signatories to the Peace Treaty of Versailles. This Article in the Peace Treaty runs as follows :

“ To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

“ The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

“ The Mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical

situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances.

"Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. . . .

"In every case of Mandate the Mandatory power shall render to the Council of the League an Annual Report in reference to the territory committed to its charge, the degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council, and a permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the Annual Reports of the Mandatory and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates."

The above extracts lay down the conditions under which Great Britain is to exercise power and control in Palestine and Mesopotamia.

The actual terms of the mandates in both cases form part of the Turkish Peace Treaty, and in the case of Palestine the trusteeship of Great Britain contains a proviso that Great Britain shall give effect to the policy enshrined in the so-called Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, addressed on behalf of the British Government to the Zionist Organization. This declaration of policy is contained in the following letter :

"FOREIGN OFFICE,

"November 2, 1917.

"DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD,

"I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted and approved by the Cabinet :

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the

Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

"I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Organization.

"Yours sincerely,

"ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR."

Thus in Palestine the task of Great Britain is twofold. In the first place, we have to control and administer Palestine as a separate new State until such time as it is able to stand alone; and in the second place, we are to give effect to the policy of creating in Palestine a Jewish national home while maintaining the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities.

The British Administration charged with this task will have to make an annual report to the Council of the League of Nations showing what it has done to carry out the mandate conferred upon it by the civilized nations of the world.

Similarly in Mesopotamia, Great Britain is charged with the tutelage and creation of a new Mesopotamian State consisting of the three former Turkish provinces of Basra, Baghdad, and Mosul. In the case of Mesopotamia there is no specific limitation of the policy to be pursued other than the general limitation that we are to undertake the government and development of the country as trustees for the inhabitants until such time as they are sufficiently stable, civilized and developed that they can stand alone.

In the case of both countries the task imposed upon the British Administrators is no light one. Both countries present political problems of the greatest complexity, and both are countries which require capital and skilled labour for their economic development. There are no portions of



the former Turkish Empire which have suffered more in the way of moral degradation and economic decay as the result of 400 years of Ottoman rule. The population of both countries has been steadily declining. Land has been going steadily out of cultivation, while the chief aim of Turkish rule seemed to have been the perpetuation and increase of religious, racial, and local animosities.

In Mesopotamia the overwhelming majority of the population of the province of Basra and Baghdad consists of Mahommedan Arabs of the Shiah sect. The province of Mosul, on the other hand, consists of a mixed population of Arabs and Kurds, of whom the greater number are Mahommedans of the Sunni sect.

All round the fringe of the new Mesopotamian State there live nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes : Arabs on the south and west, Kurds to the north, Baktiaris and Persians on the east ; and the mere protection of the *frontiers and the settled lands against raids will prove a formidable task.*

Palestine, also, is liable to similar raids and invasions from the nomadic tribes from the land east of the Jordan, and here again the creation of those settled conditions, without which the rehabilitation of the country is impossible, will be no light task.

Palestine, however, is a smaller country with a short frontier to the north, with the sea to the west, and the sandy desert to the south, and only an open frontier, less than two hundred miles long, to the east. It presents, therefore, a much smaller task than the gigantic perimeter of Mesopotamia, which to all intents and purposes is everywhere an open frontier.

Palestine presents a unique and special problem owing to its exceptional character as the Holy Land of Christendom and Jewry, with the consequence that there is practically no country in the whole world which does not watch with the closest interest events which take place in that country. Further, there is no country in the world where the in-

habitants, who do not number more than three-quarters of a million, have been drawn from so many countries or so many races. Even the Mahommedan population, who are to-day in the majority, are of mixed racial origin

The Christians of Jerusalem, who number about fifteen thousand, are divided into about thirty different national communities or sects, are all in touch with the diplomatic representatives of their various countries of origin, and, therefore, the Administration will have to walk warily lest international complications arise

The Mahommedans of Palestine consist mainly of Arabic-speaking cultivators, who live in small scattered villages, farming land either communally owned by the village or as tenants of absentee landlords. A considerable area of Palestine belonged to the Turkish Crown, and this will no doubt be now vested in the Mandatory power

In the principal towns of Palestine there exist leading Mahommedan families, who under the old régime filled all the many minor government appointments under the Turks, they were the farmers of the taxes and the subordinate officials. The Arab national revival during the war has affected some of the younger men, but it remains to be seen whether the Mahommedans of Palestine have any political or economic cohesion at all comparable to the Zionist effort now being made in the country

Zionism has, of course, its root in the Jewish religion, although it is often pointed out that many of the leading Zionists are not conspicuous for their orthodoxy. It is founded upon the idea that the Jews, if they are to survive under modern conditions as a distinct people with a distinct mission, must have a national and religious centre. The Zionist view is that this national and religious centre can only be in the land of the covenant and the prophets, and we have, therefore, the spectacle of a people schooled in commerce, and all the arts and professions of Western civilization, rejecting the superior economic attractions of the West for a land which can never have any great commercial

importance, and where the only industry is agriculture, for the sake of a definitely spiritual and moral ideal.

One sees in Palestine two main types of Jew drawn from all the different countries of the world. There is the pietist Jew who gives up his life to religious exercises, and occupies his whole time as a Nazarite in one or other of the talmudical schools of Jerusalem, Safed or Tiberias; and secondly there is the more modern Jewish agricultural colonist, who deliberately rejects the town life that his forefathers have been accustomed to for the last two thousand years, and has flung himself upon the soil of Palestine in conscious effort to re-create for future generations of Jewish children the pastoral and agricultural conditions whence the psalmist and prophetic literature of the Bible arose.

In spite of the disabilities which the Jews suffered under the Turkish régime, and the continued hostility of certain sections of the local Mahommedans, this agricultural effort of the Jews has been already striking in its results.

The two essentials of the Zionist movement in Palestine are, therefore, a Jewish agricultural revival coupled with the replacement of the jargons and languages of Europe by the revival of Hebrew as the living language. Based on the latter is the new system of Hebrew schools leading up to the new secular Hebrew University at Jerusalem, which it is the hope of Zionists will be the cultural centre for the Jews of the whole world.

It must not be thought that the creation of this Jewish national home in Palestine under the auspices and guidance of the British Administration will be easy. It is a policy which has opponents both in Palestine and outside, and it undoubtedly implies the gradual transformation of the character and atmosphere of the social and political conditions in the country, which will not be always acceptable to those who were contented with the *status quo ante bellum*; and, further, as in Palestine questions of religion crop up incessantly at every turn, the British servants who will be charged with the delicate task of control and administra-

tion will require a special degree of knowledge, sympathy and tact, greater probably than in any other country where Britain has hitherto endeavoured to undertake the task of government. A mere holding of the balance and the scales of justice between rival races and creeds is not sufficient, because the Jews and the Christians in Palestine and the leading Mahommedan families are all highly educated, civilized people, and the relation between the British Administrators and the people cannot be the relation of that of a superior with a subject race or races.

Similarly in Mesopotamia, our object must be the training and guidance of the native inhabitants in self-government from the outset. We must be prepared to sacrifice, if necessary, the ideal of efficiency for the sake of getting a more important political asset at the earliest possible moment. Any attempt to push the economic development of Mesopotamia too quickly, or to introduce numbers of emigrants of non-Arab race, would merely bring a host of troubles on to our shoulders. Above all it is essential that the necessary British and Indian garrisons should be reduced to a minimum at the outset and that steps should be taken forthwith to create a locally recruited force as the main support of the Government.

The geographical position of Mesopotamia makes it of enormous importance from the point of view of the development of aerial transport, and a considerable air force will be essential in Mesopotamia.

The population of Mesopotamia at present is only about three millions. When the country is developed, and the irrigation system of the ancient civilizations has been gradually restored, there will be room and support for ten times this population, and Mesopotamia is destined to become one of the chief producers of three of the most vital necessities of mankind—*e.g.*, wheat, cotton, and oil. It is not too much to say that if we can rise to our great opportunities we shall be able to create a new Native State in Mesopotamia far more populous, powerful and wealthy than Persia, Turkey,

or Egypt. On the wisdom and foresight of our initial political ideals and structures in Mesopotamia and Palestine will depend not only the peace of the Near and Middle East, but, what is far more important, the future good or bad relations between Asiatics and Europeans.

The spirit of nationalism is alive in Asia, and the history of British India, and other countries where Great Britain has been called upon to play a leading rôle, provides few precedents or models upon which we can now work. It is, therefore, essential that at the earliest possible moment a new Civil Service should be formed, and a new department set up in London for dealing with Mesopotamia and Palestine.

The India Office and Government of India should relinquish their present hold over Mesopotamia, and the War Office their control and direction in Palestine. Appointments in both countries will have to be most carefully scrutinized, and the minister in London responsible for making these appointments and giving general directions as regards policy must be advised by men who have not only personal knowledge of the two countries concerned, but who have also that sympathy and insight which is essential if the Mandatory conception of our task is to be put into effect.

## UNREST IN INDIA : THE QUESTION OF THE KHALIFATE

BY COLONEL C. E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G., D.L., M.P.

WE have seen lately the report in the press of the claim to the Khalifate advanced by the Emir Abdullah on the part of the Malik of the Hedjaz. In considering this claim we must not forget that the King-Emperor has more Muhammadan subjects under his sway than any other ruler in the world, and that this claim on the part of the Malik of the Hedjaz to oust the Sultan of Turkey from the Khalifate and to acquire the position and title for himself affects Great Britain more than any other Power.

Now one of the things that particularly struck me at the time when the Malik of the Hedjaz declared his independence of Turkey was the silence, suspicion, and I may say distrust, with which the announcement was received by Muhammadans in India. I did not understand this at the time, and I was inclined to think my Indian friends were unduly suspicious of the Malik's intentions, and that their fears of personal aggrandizement on his part were unfounded; but I am compelled to acknowledge now that I was wrong.

There are some sixty odd million Muhammadans in India, of whom the vast majority are Sunnis, and so far as my knowledge goes it is not the slightest use talking to them as to whether the Sultan belongs to the tribe of the Koreish or not, or whether he is legally entitled to the Khalifate or otherwise. The fact remains that for the last 450 years the Sultan of Turkey has been their Khalif, and in their eyes he is their Khalif, and so far as I know will remain their Khalif.

Four years ago one of my Indian Muhammadan friends wrote to me to say that "real difficulty would arise if or

when the Sheriff chooses to declare himself the Khalifa and Protector of the holy places at Mecca and Medina," and he added that no Sunni Muhammadan could "actively help or even approve the Sheriff's action" in doing so. That very action has now been taken and my impression is that in their opposition to it Indian Muhammadans will have the sympathy of the Afghans of Afghanistan as well as of the Muhammadans of Khiva, Bokhara and other parts of Central Asia, and that if this claim is pressed by the Malik of the Hedjaz it may lead to strife between him and his Arab followers on the one side and the Muhammadan residents of India and other parts of Asia on the other side, and that the strife thus engendered may become a menace to the peace of the British Empire.

So far as we know, the Malik of the Hedjaz is not even *primus inter pares* amongst the Arabian chiefs. Shortly after the declaration of his independence, he came to blows with a neighbouring chieftain and was thoroughly defeated. The same thing may happen again and his claim to "adequate temporal power" may not be verified.

We have seen the Emir Feisul elected by an assembly at Damascus as King of Syria, and the same assembly, it is reported, went out of their way to nominate the Emir Abdullah, the second son of the Malik of the Hedjaz, to be King of Mesopotamia. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is not a single Arab tribe or a single Arab chief in Mesopotamia who would acknowledge the overlordship of any other tribe or chief in Mesopotamia, and all the tribes and all the chiefs of Mesopotamia are, I believe, equally strong in their determination not to acknowledge the overlordship of any other outside tribe or chief, either from the Hedjaz or anywhere else. The one thing they have asked for is that Mesopotamia should remain under British guidance and control.

We have heard a good deal of late of the new birth of the Arab nation, but considering the special position Great Britain occupies as a great Muhammadan power, it behoves

us to consider well how the new birth of this nation is likely to affect the British Empire. If it leads to religious strife it will be a serious matter, and though the question of the Khalifate is one to be decided solely by Mussulmans themselves, one never knows where religious strife once started may not lead to.

We desire, as one correspondent, I see, has put it, "to follow out to its logical conclusion the policy we adopted in 1915 of making the Arabs our friends," and we desire equally to retain the friendship and the confidence of the Indian Muhammadans that resulted from our help to Turkey in the Crimean War. Strife between the two would be most unfortunate, and further strife between us and the Sultan of Turkey would be equally unfortunate. A telegram from India the other day told us that the claim advanced by the Emir Abdullah on the part of his father to the Khalifate has now been followed by a movement in Afghanistan in favour of acknowledging the Amir of Afghanistan as Khalif, and what this will end in no one can say.

Meanwhile, we see it reported in the Indian press that the Amir, in a speech at Kabul on the anniversary of the murder of his father, stated that "the policy of Russia to-day is one which is probably attracting all the Mussulmans to it," and he offered a welcome to all Indian Muhammadans who chose to migrate to Afghanistan, while at the same time the head of the Afghan Deputation to India is reported to have made a speech in the Juma Musjid at Mussoorie stating that the Mission had been ordered by the Amir to demand from the British Government that the question of the Khalifate would in no way be placed in jeopardy or interfered with.

The result of this has been the telegrams to the Viceroy from Muhammadans at Delhi stating that "it is impossible for the faithful any longer to remain under British rule peacefully," and a further telegram to the Afghan Mission at Mussoorie stating that they "appreciate most gratefully the hospitality offered by His Majesty the Amir of Afghani-



stan to the Indian Mussulmans who intend to leave the country."

How many of these Indian Khalifat agitators will really leave the country remains to be seen, but the unrest caused by this agitation in India, added to the Bolshevik activities in Afghanistan, Central Asia, Persia and the Caucasus, as well as the attitude of the Arabs in their attacks upon Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, gives little hope of quiet in the East.

What is going on in Russian Central Asia we have little news of. The accounts we have of the Bolshevik occupation of Enzelli and Resht in Persia are far from reassuring, and should there be any further advance on their part there is only one thing that we may be sure of, and that is that we shall find the Government of Persia absolutely helpless in the matter, despite all their high-sounding titles, and that few if any of the Persian people will be willing to sacrifice their lives in the defence of their own country.

How far the Bolshevik virus has penetrated into Afghanistan one cannot say. I notice that that fine soldier Major Sir Umar Haiyat Khan, in the interview he gave to the *Morning Post* the other day, stated it to be his opinion that "the Punjab disturbances and the measures taken to repress them cannot be seen in their proper perspective unless one is in possession of the full facts regarding the relation between those seditious disturbances and the conspiracies from Bolshevik Russia, and from Kabul." He went on to say that the whole issue depended "on the extent of the peril in which British rule in India was at the time, and on the fact that the local sedition was not isolated, but was linked up with foreign plans of invasion." The "foreign plans of invasion" resulted in the Afghan invasion of India in May last year, and it was the incredible weakness of the Government of India in granting an armistice to the Afghans, and spending two months in negotiations with them in India after the defeat of their invasion, instead of permitting the General in Command to dictate the terms

of peace on Afghan soil at the time, that resulted in the upheaval of the tribes on the frontier and the Waziristan campaign that has not even yet been brought to a close.

Lately we have seen a fresh Afghan deputation received in India, and the telegrams told us shortly afterwards that the conference with these delegates had to be summarily broken off owing to renewed occupation of Indian territory by Afghan troops.

This conference is now said to have been resumed, and the positions occupied by the Afghan troops on the British side of the frontier are said to have been evacuated. However, it looks very much as if the present deputation has been sent simply to try to fool the Government of India again this year in the same way as last year. On that occasion they came after an attempted invasion of India in collusion with revolutionaries in India, and now again this year a somewhat similar attempt has apparently been made ; and, as a recent telegram from India tells us, "feeling is reported especially acute at Delhi and in the Punjab, where a violent agitation is in progress," and "the Afghan delegates are visitors we could well do without at this juncture." Presumably, therefore, the motive of their mission is subject to considerable doubt.

The agitation now being carried on in India by enemies of the British Government playing upon the religious susceptibilities of their Indian fellow-countrymen may be the cause of untold misery and disaster to Muhammadans, Hindoos and Christians alike, just as in the Mutiny of 1857.

Mr. Ikbal Ali Shah, himself an Afghan, in an article entitled "The Drifting of Central Asia" in the *Near East* of April 29 last, concluded by writing : "Not long ago Trotsky declared that only through India would England be struck down. What, then, are the guardians of India doing ?"

The "peril" in India is just as great now as it was last year, and well may the question be asked : "What are the guardians of India doing ?"

The British Government has rightly been doing its best to maintain the Sultan on his throne in Constantinople, but the difficulties of the situation have been much enhanced by the action of agitators, who, on the plea of the protection of the Khalif, have been endeavouring to stir up revolution in India, while at the same time they have been helping to destroy the Sultanate by intrigues with the Young Turk party under Enver Pasha and Mustapha Kemal. These two leaders, by bringing Turkey into the war on the side of Germany, have not only brought their country to its present ruin, but have been fighting in rebellion against the Sultan up to the present moment.

The Hindu agitators, whose one aim and object apparently is to embarrass, and if possible to destroy, British government in India, have now for their own ends joined in with the Muhammadans of the Khalifat agitation and are egging them on in every way they can.

These Hindus are the same men who roused the town mobs of India to rebellion last year over the Rowlatt Acts. Now they are making use of the Khalifat agitation, and with the help of the religious question now added in, they are apparently endeavouring to bring on the same state of affairs again this year.

It may be asked: What are the Rowlatt Acts? In consequence of the revolutionary crime that was prevalent in India, the murder of the police, and the impossibility of obtaining evidence for a trial in open court, various men had to be interned in India during the war. A commission was appointed consisting of an Indian Judge of the High Court, an Indian civilian, a British Chief Justice in India, and a British civilian, under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Rowlatt, who was sent out from England on purpose to enquire into all these cases.

They did so and, if I remember right, decided that the men interned had been rightly interned, and they advised that legislation should be passed by the Government of India giving power to intern men concerned in revolutionary

conspiracies after the temporary war legislation under the Defence of India Act came to an end. This legislation was duly passed by the Government of India, but unfortunately, owing to the weakness shown by the Government against the clamour raised by the agitators, the Act was made a temporary one for three years only. Despite this, however, and the further concession by the Government that the Act should only be put in operation in districts where anarchical and revolutionary crimes were being perpetrated, and would only come into operation on the Government of India giving its sanction to an application for powers under the Act made by the Local Government, the people of the more or less educated class in the towns were led to believe the false reports spread abroad about these Acts by the members of the various Congress societies, culminating in the rebellion of April last year. The Acts themselves came to be known as the Rowlatt Acts, which are referred to so often in the Hunter Committee's report.

The same influences are still at work, and no one can say what may or may not happen. Lately, however, the telegrams have pointed to the increasing virulence of the agitation, the agitators even going so far as to pass resolutions demanding the postponement of the visit of the Prince of Wales till Moslem demands are satisfied; the prevention of the enlistment of Indians in the Indian Army; and, finally, that "the day an adverse decision is passed by the Peace Conference shall also be a day of complete independence from British rule." "Complete independence" means revolution. How far these revolutionists may succeed in raising a fresh rebellion in India, or how far moderating influences may be brought into effect, remains to be seen, but the danger is there. So patent is it to all, that I cannot do better than quote from a letter, which I have lying before me now, written by one Indian in India to another Indian in England, describing the situation as follows:

"On your return you will find your country quite different to what you left. The feeling against the Government is

going very high and officials are taking a very lenient view. The Khalifat question has done much harm to the Government, and it looks to me that revolution is at hand. It might come at any time before this letter reaches you."

A hundred years ago India was in much the same state of chaos that Russia is in now. The Pax Britannica then established by us in India has lasted to the present day, with the exception of the Mutiny of 1857 and the rebellion of 1919. The Mutiny of 1857 was a mutiny of the Indian Army, which by being pampered had come to think itself all powerful, and struck accordingly.

The rebellion of 1919 was the result of agitation got up by the politically-minded educated people of the towns belonging to the various societies referred to above, who through being equally pampered began to think that they, too, were all powerful, and similarly struck for that reason. In both cases the "placid contentment" of the rural population, which we must remember comprises 226 millions out of the 244 millions residing in British India, was comparatively little affected; and to-day I am told that outside a three-mile radius from any town the villagers are just as placid and just as contented as ever. Unfortunately the result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms has been to place these 226 millions of placid and contented villagers under the thrall of the remaining 18 millions in the towns, and this they hate extremely.

In the towns the case is very different. The rebellion of 1919 has shown how easily town-bred mobs can be excited in India; what a large proportion of people they contain ready for any disturbance. It has also been proved how difficult it is to prevent the fidelity of the men employed in railways, posts, and telegraphs, as well as in industrial centres and even in the Indian Army itself, from being exposed to the wiles of the agitators and the false rumours so readily spread abroad by them.

Never was there a time when a strong Government in India was more essential than at the present time.

## THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF ARMENIA

BY E. A. BRAYLEY HODGETTS

Is it too much to hope that recent events in Asia Minor may at last open the eyes of the British public and the British Government to the strategic importance, from the point of view of the British Empire, of what is usually called Armenia? The ancients were not blind to the value of that country and to its strategic significance. The Assyrians, Alexander the Great, the Medes and Persians, all made Armenia their battle-ground.

Napoleon is supposed to have been the first of moderns to have recognized the strategic value of Constantinople, which he is reported to have regarded as the key to world dominion, and in his day no doubt this was true. Constantinople was the front door to the East before another Napoleon had promoted the Suez Canal. With the completion of the Suez Canal the importance of Constantinople was considerably discounted, for the direct highway to the East now passes through Egypt. While the Suez Canal provided Western Europe with a short cut to India which left Constantinople out of account, the great Eastern European Empire of Russia was intent on obtaining back-door access via Central Asia. Whatever views may be held regarding the authenticity of the famous will of Peter the Great, there can be no question concerning the advice of Napoleon, who, with a view to annoying Great Britain and to diverting the attention of Russia from Europe, inspired Paul, and later Alexander I., with dreams of Asiatic conquest.

That Russia had always cast covetous eyes on Persia is, of course, an incontrovertible historical fact. As early as in the reign of Ivan the Terrible the importance of Persia and

the desirability of its conquest was recognized. Peter the Great succeeded in converting the Caspian into a virtually Russian lake. This policy was natural, defensible, and even commendable, for Russia could not allow the mouth of its largest river, its largest artery of traffic, to remain in the hands of a foreign, not to say hostile, country. Already the Volga was dotted, for a long distance up its course, with colonies of Tartar Mahomedans, who might at any moment be turned into the outposts of an invading enemy force.

But Russia's natural growth, like that of all nations, was not eastwards, but westwards. 'Tis westward that the tide of empire rolls, and the Balkan States, the Slavonic races inhabiting Austria, even the countries of Central Europe, were much nearer and dearer to the heart of the Russian colossus than distant trans-Himalayan India. George I. had seen this, and regarded the sudden emergence of Russia with apprehension, so did Frederick the Great, more wise in this respect than his father, and so more particularly did Napoleon redoubt her aggrandizement.

By Napoleon's seductive arts Russia was tempted to cast her eyes on India and thus to retard by at least a century, if not to arrest for ever, her natural growth in the West. Catherine the Great and Nicholas I. understood the true destiny of Russia better than many of her statesmen and soldiers in the more recent days of Alexander II., into whose minds had sunk the seductive poison of ambition, and who could not refrain from dreaming of the glory which would be certain to accrue from Eastern conquests. Hence the Central Asian Railway, with its base at Krasnovodsk, opposite Baku. In those days we used to read with bated breath the sensational articles of the late Mr. Charles Marvin and Mr. Dobson's thrilling book on "Russia's Railway Advance into India." Our withers were wrung by the Penjdeh incident, and we shuddered at the eloquence of the late M. Vambéry, that famous Hungarian publicist who predicted, stimulated no doubt by German politicians, the downfall of the British Empire

through the machinations of Russia. Then the kaleidoscope changed. After the accession of Alexander III. there came the rapprochement with our supposititious foe and the building of the Baghdad Railway. Since then the situation has altered once again, Russia—no longer governed by an autocrat emperor—is governed by an autocratic clique, who, under pretence of a proletariat republic, are ruling the country with a rod of iron and incidentally ruining it. Not content with impoverishing their own country they are credited with dreams of world conquest. They want to introduce the blessings of Bolshevism and of government by Soviets and Commissars into primitive Persia and “benighted” India, for they feel that to be effective, their system must be universal. Besides Russia being exhausted, they are naturally looking for “green fields and pastures new.” In these laudable ambitions they are whole-heartedly abetted by a certain section of the German reactionaries, who, as General Ludendorff has cynically admitted, deliberately promoted Bolshevism in order to undermine one of their most formidable enemies. Behind the tyrannous régime of the pseudo-proletarian Soviet Government there stand the reactionary forces of Kultur, luring to destruction a people whom they ultimately intend to conquer and use as an instrument for the gratification of their lust of empire and their insane hatred of Great Britain.

In the meantime what are we doing to prepare for this growing menace to our empire? We have spent untold blood and treasure in conquering Mesopotamia, and have created what has been happily described as the Muddle East. The once prosperous land of the Arabian Nights is in a ferment. If Harun-al-Raschid were to come to life to-day he would rub his eyes in mute amazement at the altered condition of his beloved Baghdad.

Of course Lord Denbigh performed a great public service in going about the country teaching the British public geography, and explaining the true meaning of the Baghdad



Railway, but can our statesmen be credited with vision when after risking the fate of the Indian Empire by sending General Townsend with an inadequate force to capture Mosul, they allowed the back-door to our great Asiatic possessions to remain open?

After the collapse of Turkey and when the Black Sea was thrown open to us, we neglected to get astride of the Transcaucasian Railway, which runs from Batoum to Baku, and commands the Caspian and through it Central Asia and Persia, and yet we nevertheless entered into an agreement with the latter country which made its protection from aggression imperative to our prestige.

We could not plead ignorance of Bolshevik designs, these had indeed been proclaimed from the house-tops. Our papers were full of stories of the Pan-Turanian movement and of Pan-Islamism. Bolshevik agents were known to be busy in Bokhara and Afghanistan. We were told of a great revival of religious fanaticism among the Tartars of the Volga, and in the face of that what did we do? We created the Tartar republic of Azerbaidjan, gave it the custody of the oil-fields of Baku, and commanded the heroic Armenian General Andranik to stay his hand and to desist from defeating the enemies who were threatening to give the *coup de grâce* to his martyred country.

It was because of the oil fields of Persia, we are told, that we embarked on our Baghdad adventure, and yet we have entrusted the still more important oil-fields of Baku to a Tartar republic, which on the first opportunity made common cause with the Soviet Government of Russia, and is now extending the hand of friendship to our recent enemies the Turks, with the object of finally exterminating with their assistance, what remains of our fellow-Christians, the Armenians, who so valorously fought on the side of the Allies during the Great War.

In our anxiety to propitiate our Mahomedan fellow-subjects we have stood aside and shed crocodile tears while Christian Armenians were being massacred. It is un-

necessary to possess a knowledge of the Oriental mind to understand that such an attitude is not calculated to raise us in the estimation of the Indian people.

In the old days of early-Victorian diplomacy we regarded the Turks as our friends, and we even embarked on a fruitless and costly war to save them from destruction. In the Crimea we sealed with our blood our friendship for the "unspeakable Turk," but in not quite half a century later Lord Salisbury opined that we had backed the wrong horse, and in less than a generation after that historic admission, the Turks joined our enemies in a peculiarly odious and treacherous manner. No doubt they now deeply regret their betrayal; they tried to stab us in the back, but we turned round and smote them. And now we are assisting their co-religionists, the Tartars of an artificial Azerbaidjan—the real Azerbaidjan is part of Persia—to organize themselves into a powerful State in order to be able to stretch out their hands to the Ottoman hordes, and to exterminate the hated intervening Armenian Christians.

The descent by the Bolsheviks on Enzeli, from which we have been obliged to retire, is one of the firstfruits of this strange inconsequential policy.

When will the eyes of our leaders and statesmen be opened to the true situation?

To imagine that we can ever hope to restore the old friendly relations between this country and Turkey is as fallacious and visionary as to believe that we can ensure the respect of the Mahomedans of India by forsaking our friends in Persia and Armenia.

Let us glance for one moment at the strategic position in this part of the world.

Constantinople guards the entrance to the Black Sea, but is for the future to be an open door.

On the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea is the port of Batoum, which is connected by railway with Tiflis and from thence with Baku.

From Tiflis there is railway communication with Erivan

and Kars, which latter important place is within easy reach of Erzeroum, for, thanks to the war, a motor road has been made between these two towns. Erzeroum has been called the Clapham Junction of Asiatic Turkey, for here the great caravan routes leading to Persia and Afghanistan from the Levant and the Black Sea converge. There is also a railway from Tiflis to Julfa and Tabriz.

Hence through Batoum and Tiflis, Northern Asia Minor can be dominated.

We have seen that the Transcaucasian Railway runs from Batoum in the Black Sea to Baku in the Caspian, and we have experienced how easy it is to dominate Enzeli and Resht, and consequently Persia (for Teheran is within comparatively easy reach of Resht), from that port. But opposite Baku, on the eastern shore of the Caspian, is Krasnovodsk, the starting-point of the Central Asian Railway, which runs in a straight line to Dushak, less than 100 miles from Meshed on the Persian frontier. It then turns off sharp to Merv, goes still farther north to Bokhara, and proceeds via Samarkand and Kokan to Andijan in Ferghana. Before reaching Bokhara it crosses the Amu Daria at Charjui.

All these means of communication are to-day controlled by the Russian Soviet Government and their Mahomedan friends the Turks and Tartars, all but Batoum, where, in response to urgent representations made to the British Government last August, the small British garrison has not been withdrawn. Batoum has been declared to be part of Georgia, and the small Georgian Republic is reported to be friendly to us.

The position of the Allies may be briefly described in the following few words. As long as Constantinople remains an open port our fleet can dominate the Black Sea and support our garrison at Batoum. But if we wish to succour Persia or protect the Caucasian oil-fields, we must either capture the Transcaucasian Railway or follow the route of the ill-fated Dunsterville force from Baghdad to

Karmanshah and then across to Resht, a long and tedious march through an inhospitable country.

We hold Cyprus, which is opposite the starting-point of the Baghdad Railway, but this is a long way from the Caucasus, from whence, as we have seen, runs the road to the back-door to India.

We cannot sleep comfortably in our beds unless we know that the Transcaucasian Railway is in the hands of friends. To-day it is dominated at Tiflis and Baku by a Government concerning whose intentions towards us our statesmen seem to have an open mind.

It may, of course, be urged that there is no such thing as friendship in politics, and that we can only count as friendly those countries whose interests are not divergent from, or opposed to, our own. Sentiment in politics is as dangerous as it is in business, although there is nevertheless a great deal of sentiment in both.

But the position in Asia Minor is not really so difficult and perplexing as some people would make it appear.

Until the other day Asia Minor was virtually dominated by an alien conquering nation, the Ottoman race, of whom we tried to make friends, and who treacherously made common cause with our enemies. To endeavour to make friends of them again may be sentimental, but it is sentiment of the wrong kind, and it is not business.

Besides the Ottoman Turk, there is only one other race inhabiting Northern Asia Minor which can claim our serious attention, and that is the Armenian. Of course we have been told that the Armenians are even more untrustworthy and treacherous than the Turks. But what race of men can be truthfully described as invariably sincere and unselfish? In politics the essential factor is not so much sincerity as community of interests. And the interests of the Armenians are surely identical with our own.

The Armenians are probably the most ancient race in that part of the world. The name Armenia first occurs in a Persian cuneiform inscription of Darius

Hystapsias (521-486 B.C.). Its origin is of so remote an antiquity that it is in doubt. The native name was *Biania*, the original of the modern *Van*. The Armenians are an Aryan race and claim to be descended from *Haik*, son of *Torgom*, fifth in descent from *Noah*, whose ark is supposed to have rested on *Mount Ararat* after the Flood. They were the first Christians in that region, and they have tenaciously retained their ancient faith in spite of many trials and vicissitudes. A people by themselves, surrounded on all sides by alien races, they were frequently invaded, but generally defeated their enemies, and *Tigran I.*, the Great, conquered nearly the whole of *Asia Minor*. Armenia continued an independent kingdom until 1365, when her last king, *Leo VI.*, was obliged to flee the country, and journeyed to *Paris* and *London* seeking assistance against the *Mameluke* invaders. Under Ottoman rule it is not too much to say that the Armenians were the only economic asset of the country. The Turks were "the gentlemen"; work was foreign to their dignified nature. The agriculturists, the cattle-breeders, the craftsmen, were Armenians, so also were the labourers in the big cities, as well as the merchants and traders. Not so nimble-witted, nor so highly cultured, as the Greeks, they nevertheless ran them very close. But they were less supple, less pliable, less diplomatic than the Greeks. Very independent in character, even somewhat truculent, conservative in their habits and customs, they were proud of their ancient traditions, of their somewhat primitive but genuine culture, of their language, their literature, their achievements and their faith. They refused to relinquish any one of their national characteristics, and resisted assimilation whether by the Turks or the Russians. To do them justice, the Turks never showed much fanaticism in this direction; they were in the main content to live on the fruits of the labour of subject races, until their slow-working and not over-imaginative brains were worked upon by other, external influences to suspect the loyalty of the conquered. Their

vengeful suspicions once aroused, they proceeded in their clumsy way to crush out the spirit of rebellion and to massacre the native population. It was by these Oriental methods that the Turks lost their European provinces one by one throughout the nineteenth century. But the Armenians were less subtle and less fortunate than the Greeks and the Slavs or even the Egyptian fellaheen.

The Armenian traditions were older than those of the Slavs, and the Armenians were as much a thorn in the flesh of Russia as they were a cause of anxiety to Germany. For Prussia's dreams of world conquest were not of yesterday's date. The great Elector's argosies sailed to the Cape of Good Hope in the seventeenth century, and two hundred years later Frederick William IV. toyed with the idea of becoming the protector of Jerusalem.

The Armenians had no friends, but they had many enemies, and so they were continually massacred in the hope that they might be completely exterminated. But their vitality is such that they are able to form an independent State to-day, and would, if but intelligently supported, constitute an ideal bulwark of liberty in the Near East.

Their cause has not always been pleaded in the happiest manner. Too often have they been represented as poor, mean-spirited, defenceless sheep, when they have, as a matter of fact, fought like lions. Nor have they been overscrupulous in their methods of reprisal. Not always have they gently waited to be massacred; more often they have even anticipated the attack, and in some cases, instead of being the massacred, it is they who have fallen upon and slaughtered those whom they had reason to regard as their enemies.

They are a rugged, stern, but remarkably intelligent and industrious race; they inhabit a rich country which, if opened out, would benefit civilization; and they are the natural and traditional guardians of the Caucasus. Instead of encouraging and assisting them to fulfil their mission, we

have adopted every conceivable measure calculated to disgust them with us, and we have handed the key to the back-door to India to a newly created republic consisting of their hereditary enemies, and united by ties of religion and blood to the people who have so treacherously betrayed us. Truly the existence of the British Empire is a perpetual miracle.

[This article was written and received before the Bolshevik forces made a decent on Engeli, and consequently before the present complications in Persia had arisen.]

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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## THE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA

BY NAGENDRA NATH SEN GUPTA

WHATEVER may be the principal industry in any individual country, it is beyond controversy that agriculture forms the backbone of human existence throughout the world. This remark applies with peculiar force to India. Agriculture was the chief industry when the Aryans finally settled down in the country; it has maintained its position throughout the struggles of the various powers that overran India before the Moslem rule of the seventeenth century. And its supremacy is unchallenged even to-day when the country is under the influence of the West, which has always excelled the East in non-agricultural industries. Now the question is whether at any stage of the economic development of India we shall find it necessary to subordinate agriculture to some other industry. Such an end may well be considered impossible. The country's resources in coal, iron, and mineral oils—the three fundamentals of our modern conception of non-agricultural industries—are still in process of discovery; but even when they are fully developed the position of agriculture need not be touched. Our best investment will always be the land. This is the essential point to be borne in mind, even while we are considering how all industries can be made to serve one another.

This fact as to the importance of agriculture does not get sufficient recognition in India itself; but behind this lies the bigger difficulty of the country's very real illiteracy. During the last three hundred years we have fallen so far behind Western nations in the material and intellectual



race that we might almost seem to have given up the race altogether and settled down to a state of stolid passivity which is dangerous alike to the material, intellectual, and spiritual existence of any nation. I believe that it is true to state that, bar the handful of people represented by the "educated classes" in each province, the masses of India are practically where they were in the seventh century. Time has progressed, but we have not progressed with time. We have a stupendous task before us, and that is to make up for our long-continued stagnation, and to catch up the progressive nations of the world who have been running while we have been sleeping. This material regeneration of the country will largely depend upon the successful development of agriculture, which will only be possible when there is a popular understanding of its urgency. But what will make the people understand it? The answer consists of one word: Education. We have not only to educate those whom we call illiterate: we have also to revise our system of higher education—the main-spring of the thinking element of the nation. In a country where the students appearing for the Matriculation examination at any one university in any one year may yet be counted by their ten-thousands, it is a lamentable fact that very few of them have ever been encouraged to give any thought to the land. Ask an ordinary university student in India what his ideas are with regard to the agricultural development of the country, and it is almost certain that he will inform you that the problems of the land do not interest him. He will perhaps be able to give you more information than you would care to possess on such matters as sports, university degrees, comfortable posts, and he will even be ready to carry on a conversation on such high-flown topics as self-government, international politics, mind and matter, life after death, and so on and so forth. His ideas on these subjects are in most cases not the result of his own thinking: one might almost say that his action is analogous to that of a talking

machine. If he thought at all, he would interest himself in less high-sounding but more useful subjects—subjects that affected the immediate and fundamental needs of his country. And what need is more immediate and fundamental than the development of agriculture in India, with the one exception of universal education?

Some radical changes in the system of land tenure, as obtaining in our country at the present time, will be necessary for the line of agricultural development which I shall suggest in course of the paper. Without the necessary education of the masses, such changes may naturally be viewed with apprehension by a very large section of the population. Since our object is to introduce changes not in the teeth of popular opposition, but, if possible, with public opinion behind us, it is very necessary that we should set to work at once to prepare the popular mind for our purpose by giving the masses an adequate measure of education.

First, then, we must set to work to change the present illiterate, poverty-stricken ryot into a modern agriculturist. But how is this to be done? It will take more than a century if our work is to be along the lines of gradual evolution—educating the generations yet unborn. And in my impatience I have conceived what I hope may prove a short cut. Having regard to my ignorance of the technique of Indian tenures, I feel that I can but state my idea and leave it to be developed or rejected by those better qualified to judge. Shortly stated, then, my idea is this: that we find some way of dealing with the land tenures which will turn the small holdings into farms of the size of an average English farm; that these should be worked by men of superior education as farmers (the zemindar himself turning a farmer where possible); and that the ryot of to-day should be employed as a farm servant. The point is that, apart from getting results in a reasonable time, for due agricultural development we want not only education up to a certain standard, but the finance and initiative

which the present ryot cannot supply. And it is the ryot himself who in the long run will reap the chief benefit from any changes which we may be compelled to make.

Statistics of a few years ago show that 196,000,000 out of 330,000,000 inhabitants of India, *i.e.*—nearly two-thirds of the entire population—are directly dependent upon agriculture, while nine-tenths of the rural population derive their living directly and indirectly from agriculture. The size of an average holding varies from half an acre in densely populated parts of the country to eight acres in less congested parts. Taking the mean of the two extremes, the average size of the Indian farm—if one may call it by that name—does not exceed four acres. As the holder of this four-acre-farm supplies both capital and labour, the usual custom is for the whole family to find their vacation in, and derive their living from, the management of the holding. Suppose that each family contains at least three male adults fit for employment on the land, it is obvious that one man is responsible for the cultivation of something like 1·3 acres of land only, which is a colossal waste of labour in view of the fact that in the progressive countries of the world—especially in England—there is on the average only one man allowed for every fifty acres of mixed husbandry land, the yield of which on the other hand is, as a rule, greater than that of the same area in India. Roughly speaking, from the production point of view one man in England is doing the same amount of work as fifty in India. At this stage let us ask ourselves this important question : Why is it that fifty men are doing no more work in our country than one in England? The answer falls under three main heads :

- (1) The ridiculously small size of farms.
- (2) The absence of labour-saving implements.
- (3) The low efficiency of labour.

The low efficiency of labour can be accounted for (*a*) by unfavourable climatic conditions over which we have little control, (*b*) by the low standard of living as regards both

feeding and housing, and (c) by the general ignorance as to what should be considered a fair day's work both for man and beast. It is no good quarrelling with the climate, so we must put that aside. We can certainly do something towards raising the standard of living. A general education which will make the labourer realize what is considered a decent standard of living in the twentieth century will help the matter considerably ; but he cannot better his style of living on his present income. And since his income depends on the profits of the land, it is obvious that the land must be made to yield more. But this increased yield can only be secured by entrusting the land to those who know something about the scientific management of land, and who possess the capital which will enable them to translate their ideas of improved farming into actual performance.

The third cause of the low efficiency of labour is the absence of any recognized standard of labour. I do not know whether any tests have actually been made in order to discover how much work on the land can reasonably be expected from a normal adult working under the climatic and other conditions prevailing in India ; but such tests should be easily made. With the necessary data of labour, an enlightened farmer bent upon getting his money's worth of work, and wise enough to enforce regular hours, will have little difficulty in greatly augmenting the efficiency of labour.

Let us now consider the question of the absence of labour-saving implements insofar as it is responsible for the enormous waste of human labour to which we have referred. The cheapness of labour on the one hand, and the financial inability of the farmer to purchase anything more elaborate than a primitive wooden plough made by the village carpenter on the other have so far been the chief obstacles in the way of introducing those modern implements which can be employed with advantage under Indian conditions. The cost of labour will increase in

proportion to the increase of wealth in the country, and hence the economic development of India will gradually remove the first obstacle. With the fulfilment of my dream of the future agriculturist of India, the second obstacle will also vanish.

Up to a certain point the acreage per labourer varies almost inversely as the size of the farm. A fifty-acre-farm will in all probability employ the same number of labourers as a hundred-acre-one, provided that the system of farming remains the same in both cases ; whereas the produce on the latter should not fall short of twice that on the former. Thus we see that a man who is financially able to run a hundred-acre-farm is in a much better position than another who cannot afford to farm more than fifty ; because in the former case there will be greater economy of labour, and a consequent bigger profit on the capital, part of which profit will be directed towards raising the standard of living of the labourer by means of larger wages.

I hope that it is clear that the arguments put forward so far favour the ejection of the simple, old-fashioned ryots from the land as farmers, although not as farm-labourers. This is decidedly a revolutionary proposal, and I am not blind to the antagonism which it may arouse, since it attacks the old system of land tenure altogether. But if the ultimate interests of our country call for such change, it seems to me that it would be our solemn duty to work towards it. An ordinary ryot of the present day, who lives from hand to mouth, and who more often than not is completely in the grip of moneylenders, will find life infinitely more pleasant and free from care as a well-paid farm-labourer or a factory hand. Give the land, therefore, to the people who are progressive in their ideas, and consequently believe in that kind of farming which combines science with practice ; who are enterprising and find in the land an unlimited field for their enterprise ; and finally who have the money and know how to invest it in the land—if, indeed, we can find or create such a class.

Our task hardly ends here. If the Hindu law of inheritance is allowed to continue in its present form, a few generations will witness the undoing of what we may accomplish to-day. The future legislators of the country cannot do better than carefully consider this important question.

The complete replacement of smallholders by large farmers will necessarily have to be a slow business requiring much patience and tact on the part of the Government ; and the industrial development of the country will play no mean part in the realization of the scheme. Something like 348,400,000 acres of land in India are fit for cultivation, although not much more than 245,100,000 acres are under actual cultivation at present. Supposing that we bring all the cultivable land under cultivation as a result of our plans, and that taking everything into consideration we allow an acreage of twenty to every farm hand, we shall find employment on the land for something like 17,000,000 men. It has been mentioned before that 196,000,000 people in India are dependent upon agriculture for their living at the present time. Let us assume that to every male adult there are on the average one female and three children, and this means that, under the proposed scheme of agricultural development, we shall be able to provide for 85,000,000 working-class people, or one-fourth of the entire population, on the land. Now the question is, What is going to happen to the remaining 111,000,000 people who are at present maintained, though very precariously, by the land ? If you turn them off the land you must find them some means of livelihood elsewhere, otherwise you have no right to alter the existing order of things. Of course, if you are going to manufacture in the country all the modern machinery needed by Indian agriculture, and if you make provision for the utilization of the by-products of agriculture—*e.g.*, hides, wool, etc.—you will be in a position to support a large number of people on the strength of agriculture, although not actually on the land. But this will not solve

the whole problem, and the support of a large majority of those people who will be thrown out of employment will necessitate at least a corresponding development of the urban and non-agricultural industries of the country. Large towns will have to spring up in districts comparatively rich in minerals, especially coal and iron, the working of which will supply a pleasant change of occupation for the hundreds of thousands released from the land. The building of a regular network of railways, and the construction of better and more plentiful roads for facilities of communication and transport, will engage the services of a considerable number of people; while the building of a mercantile fleet in proportion to the export and import needs of the country, and the manning of the same, will play an important part in the solution of the problem.

Having determined the fundamental settlement of the land, we will now proceed to consider how to develop the management of the land culturally and economically so as to get both a maximum yield and a maximum profit.

The fencing off of the land is a thing almost unknown in India, because under the present system the size and scope of an average farm are so limited that it is hardly worth while going to the trouble and expense of erecting and maintaining fences. But the future agricultural development will alter this state of affairs. We must define our fields and meadows and make hedges and fences as sure an indication of the condition of agriculture in India as they are in England. Farming will be conducted on infinitely more thorough and systematic lines. The existing systems of rotation may need investigation. The keeping of live-stock will become an essential factor of farming. These new features will demand a carefully thought out division of land into fields of approximately regular shape and manageable size—fenced off from one another by hedges or by wire and posts.

In the wake of extensive farming will follow the construction of appropriate farm buildings, which will exercise a

profound influence on both sides of agriculture—crops and livestock. The ultimate quality of crops grown depends considerably on the manner of their storage, and hence improved buildings will not only raise the selling value of crops, but they will also help to increase the productivity of the land by placing sound seed in the hands of farmers. Again, when pastures become dry, and under adverse weather conditions, it may be found necessary to feed fattening bullocks in stalls or sheltered yards ; and hence, if we mean to make large profits out of the keeping of livestock, we must be prepared to house them comfortably. Further, there should be adequate arrangements for the conservation and management of both the solid and the liquid excreta of the animals during the period they are fed inside the buildings. Good, clean buildings constructed and fitted out on modern lines are highly desirable where dairy-farming is to be conducted ; but, of course, for our present and immediate purposes, it will be sufficient if we insist on having such buildings and dairy utensils as are absolutely indispensable for the milking of cows, the treatment of milk prior to despatch, and the manufacture of milk-products. We must not forget that we have to deal with a country where agriculture has been, to all intents and purposes, at a standstill for centuries, and consequently the development must be gradual to be enduring.

We will now take up the question of soil fertility—a subject which has engaged some of the finest brains of Europe and America during the last eighty years. It will be futile to expect the ryot to possess any real knowledge on so highly technical a subject. Apart altogether from any systematic knowledge of soil requirements, one's common sense ought to help one to appreciate the fact that one must return to the land at least some of the ingredients which have been removed from it in the form of crops ; or else the initial productivity of the land cannot possibly be kept up. But the practice of the ryot does not justify my optimism in this respect. Perhaps his practice is regulated



not by what he knows, but by what he can afford. It is a well-known fact that if you start cultivating virgin soil and systematically avoid manuring of any kind, after a certain number of years the yield of your land will begin to diminish and will continue to do so until a stage has been reached where a natural equilibrium is established between the income and the expenditure of the land, resulting in what may be termed a constancy of yield which marks the absolute minimum to be obtained from that land. It seems to me very probable that in our Indian agriculture we are mostly dealing with land which has been reduced from its high initial fertility to the condition to which I have just referred. Now the question is this: Are we going to be content with our absolute minimum, or are we to use all that modern agriculture suggests for the increase of our natural-grown foodstuffs? Of course we mean to take the latter course. But we must be careful in our selection and application of fertilizers. Unless the market conditions are highly favourable it seldom pays to aim at securing the maximum yield under the stimulation of chemical fertilizers. "The last bushel of corn costs far more to produce than any other," and hence, as our object is increase based on economy, we shall exercise judgment in determining the kind and the amount of manures to be applied.

Scientific agriculturists recognize a broad distinction between farmyard manure, which may be called the natural manure, and chemical fertilizers, which by contrast may be termed artificial manures. The value of farmyard manure as a means of maintaining and increasing soil fertility was discovered very early in the history of human civilization, although its full significance was never understood until recently when science came to be applied to agriculture. Science has revealed its twofold value—chemical and physical—one no less important than the other. The magnitude of the part played by this apparently common stuff may be gauged by the fact that its use is universal in

British agriculture. One can hardly conceive of circumstances which might disadvantageously modify its present position

How much use are we making of this natural manure in India ? I have no doubt that its use on land is not unknown in our country, but we must admit that its use is unfortunately limited for at least three reasons

- (1) The conception of agriculture in India which, as a rule, does not include the keeping of livestock in the scope of agriculture
- (2) The use of dung as a fuel, especially by the poorer people
- (3) The use of dung as a disinfectant especially on earth floors, even in the houses of comparatively well-to-do and enlightened people

Not only is the gross output of this all important material extremely low, but its availability to agriculture is a matter of considerable uncertainty. I am, however, full of hope that the recognition of the systematic keeping of livestock as a branch of agriculture will increase the production of this material, and, once available, there is absolutely no doubt of its general use on the land, especially if the future agriculture of our country is entrusted to those who can and are willing to farm on modern lines, while the working of the natural resources of the country, a general education and the raising of the standard of living of the masses, will gradually render obsolete the uses of dung as a fuel and a disinfectant.

Although farmyard manure is a complete manure and its use is indispensable to the future development of agriculture in India, the use of artificial manures must also be introduced if our object is a combined extensive and intensive cultivation of the land. The country must produce as much of the artificial manures required by it as possible, and for the rest we may have to seek outside. But until, as a result of the advancement of agriculture and the consequent

increase of the national wealth, we find it economical to import manures, we shall have to content ourselves with what we can produce in the country. Sulphate of ammonia, which is one of the most important nitrogenous manures, can be obtained from such large cities as possess gas plants, and, as a result of the future industrial development these gas plants will be scattered broadcast over the country. There is little doubt that as soon as the country is ready to use artificial manures, sulphate of ammonia plants will spring into existence as a matter of course ; since the owners of gas factories will find in this by-product a considerable source of income. If the gas factories are financed by native capital or by capital which will not go out of India, it is apparent that the use of sulphate of ammonia will put money into the pockets of three sets of Indian people—the manufacturers, the dealers, and the agriculturists ; and this money is going to be produced by the land. Nitrate of soda is also extensively used as a nitrogenous manure, but the only deposits of any consequence so far discovered are those in Chili. Nevertheless, in India we have accumulations of nitrate of potash which, if used as a manure, will be of almost unique value inasmuch as it embodies two manurial ingredients—nitrogen and potash. Up till now, the use of this material as a manure has been practically nil, because of the great demand for it in the manufacture of explosives ; but if the League of Nations prove to be a success, the world's need of explosives should gradually diminish. Our nitrate of potash might not then find enough foreign markets, and our national income will be reduced unless we can find some other industrial use for this valuable material. If it is not wanted anywhere else, agriculture will accord it a most hearty welcome. Let us, therefore, keep our eyes open, so that, if the opportunity arrives for its economic use in Indian agriculture, we can let the country of its origin profit by it first, and, if necessary, solely.

The cheapest source of phosphatic manures at the present

time is what is known as basic slag, which is a by-product in the manufacture of steel from iron-ores containing phosphorus by the basic Bessemer process. The Indian agriculture of the future will find use for all the basic slag capable of being produced in the country, and if we deem it necessary to import any slag from foreign parts the cheapness of the material will always favour such a step. Besides basic slag we have at least two other sources of phosphatic manure in the country—*e.g.*, rock phosphates and bones, which may be used as they are or as superphosphates by treatment with sulphuric acid. At present, almost the entire bone output of the country, amounting to something like 100,000 tons, is exported to countries where the material is used both as a fertilizer and a decolorizer. With the development of the country's livestock under the ægis of agriculture, there is no reason why our bone output should not be multiplied by ten; in that case it will certainly be to our advantage to export any bones which may be in excess of the requirement of the country.

Let us now consider the question of livestock as affecting the agriculture of India. The systematic rearing of such economic beasts as cattle, horses, sheep, and pigs is a thing almost unknown in India. We cannot attain the results for which we look without development on these lines also. The farmer must naturally be the most economic breeder of livestock. The domestication of cattle, horses, and sheep, and the recognition of their economic utility, took place in India probably at an earlier date than in Western countries, which are, however, at present, centuries ahead of India in the matter of the development of livestock as a result of careful selection and judicious crossing. The extent to which we have neglected our livestock will be made clear by the following figures, published within recent years for livestock populations in British India and in the United Kingdom :

	<i>British India.</i>	<i>United Kingdom.</i>
Cattle ...	41,000,000	12,000,000
Horses .. .	1,600,000	2,000,000
Sheep ... ..	23,000,000	30,000,000
Pigs ...	Indeterminate	4,200,000

The above figures speak deplorably for themselves when compared with the relative size of the two countries. The reason for our livestock deficiency is to be found in our conservatism as to material progress, our lack of education, and our religious scruples.

I have no doubt that the system of feeding of the Indian population, as regards the proportions of nitrogenous and non-nitrogenous foods, will change considerably with the material progress of the nation ; but supposing, for the sake of argument, that it does not change to such an extent as to cause an appreciable increase in the consumption of meat of all kinds, even then there will be little justification for neglecting our livestock as we have done hitherto ; for, besides being immeasurably benefited by the manurial output resultant on the keeping of livestock on farms, we shall always be able to find foreign markets for our produce of meat, hides, and wool. An elaborate cold storage system will be required for the preservation of meat, and the quality of the meat will have to be such as to compare favourably with the quality of the home-grown meat of those foreign countries with which we have dealings. The raising of the standard of living will go hand in hand with the economic and educational development of the country, and, in consequence the use of leather will extend so enormously in our country that we shall be able to make economic use of our entire production of hides.

Climatic conditions will, to a large extent, determine the districts where the livestock farming will be distinctly successful and profitable, but results of actual experiments will be required to elucidate the question of the pre-eminent suitability of certain species and breeds of livestock for certain districts. The subject will have to be studied in all its aspects—selection in breeding, serviceableness, and meat

and milk producing capacity. Our first object will be to ascertain how far the native breeds can be improved without the introduction of foreign blood, and then we must observe the adaptability to our climatic conditions of certain well-known foreign breeds, notably English, and their influence on the native breeds when crossed. I believe that the shorthorn cattle and certain breeds of English sheep have been successfully tried in India by individual enterprise, but in future we shall have to conduct such trials on a national scale and with national consciousness.

Whether or not horse-ploughing will successfully replace bullock and buffalo ploughing in India still remains to be seen, but it is not looking too far ahead to prognosticate that, apart from agriculture, the industrial development of the country will require the services of useful heavy horses for haulage purposes. India is singularly deficient in native breeds of heavy horses, and we must import and acclimatize them as far as possible. Nature will do her work in selecting those that will stand the climate best, and in course of time we should be able to evolve certain suitable types the breeding of which can be successfully conducted on the land.

I will close this paper by a reference to the educational side of the agricultural development of India, since modern agriculture is essentially a combination of science and practice. Improvement can hardly be maintained in practice without the illuminating help of scientific research. The education of every farmer in the science of agriculture is a standard which need not at present be seriously considered; but the training of men who will preach the gospel of science to the cultivators of the soil is an urgent necessity. We must have agricultural schools and colleges all over the country—in far greater numbers than have hitherto been possible. A large section of those who will come to such institutions will certainly be farmers' sons and prospective farmers, and the success which attends their improved methods of farming will be an object-lesson to the untrained. There are no trade secrets in agriculture. Methods of

improvement are so obvious and carried out in such broad daylight that good results obtained by one farmer can be repeated by thousands of others if they have the sense to adopt improved methods. Then we shall also have to train those who will carry on propaganda and supervisory work by means of agricultural literature ; by addressing meetings of farmers at suitable centres ; by giving first-hand advice after personal study of the conditions of any particular farm ; and, if necessary, by enforcing better farming with the authority of the Government. A continuous supply of Professors and teachers of agricultural subjects and Research Fellows will also be needed. Although a good many results of agricultural research are equally applicable the world over, some research will have to be repeated locally. In addition, there is an unlimited field for original work.

The programme of agricultural education which I should like to see in India would include farm schools to which sons of farmers might pass from their village primary schools. I consider such schools most important as replacing for farmers any other type of secondary schools.

We have already a number of agricultural colleges in India, many of which are independent institutes without any university connection. There is absolutely no reason for quarrelling with the existence of independent agricultural colleges ; but every decent university ought to possess an agricultural college or an agricultural department. The University of Calcutta in my time had almost no facilities for the study of agriculture. The reason is not far to seek. The country as a whole is not even aware that an agricultural education has a marketable value. Those who come up to our universities have no better ideas of it. To allow their sons to receive an agricultural training is considered by 99·9 per cent. of Indian parents to be nothing short of educational suicide. I need hardly say that my remarks are made from personal experience. We have, however, one consolation in the

matter and that is that "the best is yet to be." Our eyes are turned to the future, which, let us hope, holds better things for us than the present. Progress of any kind depends on the education of the masses and on the right kind of education for those standing above the masses. Provide for the two, and your progressive ideas will attain fruition automatically. In the train of hundreds of other things will arrive a national consciousness of the necessity and importance of university education in agriculture, which will make it worth the while of every university in the country to possess an agricultural department which will hold its own amongst the agricultural departments of all notable universities of the world.

Example is far more convincing than precept, and hence the teaching in agricultural schools and colleges must be supplemented by management of experimental farms where scientific truths can be presented in a concrete form, and thus win the confidence of farmers. The aim of such experimental farms will be to find out reliable data of economic manuring and cropping; animal nutrition and breeding, etc., without reference to monetary considerations on these farms themselves. The national money thus spent will be realized a thousandfold in numberless farms all over the country. The influence of the results of Rothamsted, Woburn, Cockle Park, and other experimental stations of England on the British and foreign agriculture is inestimable. The same will have to take place in India. Every agricultural college will have to possess an experimental farm and, in addition, independent stations must be established and maintained at the expense of the Government or by public charity. The greatest publicity must be given to the results obtained on these farms, so that there may be no excuse for any farmer to follow unsound or inferior methods of farming.

The need for agricultural research—chemical, bacteriological, mycological, phytogenetical, etc.—is very urgent



indeed in a country like India, where the number of problems awaiting solution must be practically without limit. At the present time India possesses only one Agricultural Research Institute of any consequence—namely, the one at Pusa—and let us not shrink from recalling the fact that the foundation of this one place was made possible by the munificence of an American millionaire. It is to be hoped that Indian philanthropists will be induced to consider agriculture as an object of endowment after the manner of that eminent Indian scientist—Sir J. C. Bose—who lately endowed a Research Institute for pure science.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at 3, Victoria Street, S W , on Monday, March 15, 1920 a paper was read by Nagendra Nath Sen Gupta, Esq , entitled "The Agricultural Development of India Professor W R Dunstan, C M G , M A , L L D , F R S , occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen amongst others, were present Sir Robert Warrand Carlyle, K C S I , C I E , Sir Frank C Gates, K C I E , C S I , Sir William Ovens Clark, Lady Kensington, Lady Katharine Stuart, The Hon Charles Patrick Stuart Mr G O W Dunn, Mr N C Sen, O B E , Mr Sydney G Roberts, Mr I W Thakur, Mr N M Allorge, Miss F R Scatcherd, Mr F H Brown, Professor Bickerton, Miss Berry, Colonel F S Terry, The Rev Dr R H Durham, Mr and Mrs H R Cook, Miss Hillyer, Mr P Varkki Isaac, Mr Ramachandra Bapurao Kharadkar, Lieutenant Colonel G V Holmes, Dr S S Kapadia, Mr E H Tabak, Miss E J Beck Mr P Newell, Miss Beadon, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in introducing to you Mr Sen Gupta, who is to read the Paper this afternoon As most of you are aware, Mr Sen Gupta is a distinguished young Indian, who has for some time been studying, in this country, the applications of science to agriculture He now holds a Research Scholarship, which has enabled him to work at our leading agricultural experimental station at Rothamsted I think that this will commend him to you as one who can speak with some knowledge and authority on this subject

I am sure that, for several reasons, the East India Association will welcome this Paper, coming, as it does, from one who has been studying the advances we have made on this side in agriculture, with a view to ameliorating the position of agriculture in his own country

I have now much pleasure in calling upon Mr Gupta to read his paper

Mr NAGENDRA NATH SEN GUPTA then read a Paper on the "Agricultural Development of India "

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I think that you will agree that we have listened to a most interesting and inspiring paper We cannot help admiring the boldness with which Mr Sen Gupta has handled some of the very difficult and complicated questions which this subject of Indian agriculture involves For myself, I need only say that for many years I have been deeply interested in Indian agriculture I have had some

opportunities of studying it on the spot, and I have been very much concerned in this country with the question of the best method of utilizing the products of that agriculture

India is on the verge of a political development in which Indians will have a much deeper interest, and far more control, in the agriculture of their country. We must all welcome the procedure that Mr. Sen Gupta has himself followed in coming here to study our methods, and our advances in agriculture, with a view to leading similar advances in his own country.

With much that he said in the Paper I am in very cordial agreement, especially with regard to what was said about education. It is an unfortunate fact that, not only in India, but in most Eastern countries, agriculture is looked down upon, and is not regarded as a fit occupation for an educated man. I have made many unsuccessful attempts myself to induce young Indians and young Singhalese to engage in agriculture, both on this side and in their own country, and I have nearly always met with the argument "The proper subject for us to work at, the subject which is going to bring us most prestige, and, incidentally, most money, is the law, and it is only right, therefore, that we should, when we come to this country, pay attention to the law." Argument is useless, and I have come to the conclusion that there is only one remedy. As Mr. Gupta pointed out, it is, unfortunately, a very long one in obtaining results and that is education. But there are certain advances that might be made with advantage, gaining experience from other countries. One is that India should not merely have agricultural colleges, and agricultural teaching in the universities, and agricultural research stations, and agricultural scientific work, but that agriculture should be started at the very beginning, and elementary agriculture simply taught in rural schools.

I have been much interested in the progress that has been made already in Ceylon, which has been attended with really remarkable results in a comparatively short time. The children are taught what we call over here "Nature Study." They are made to take an interest in the soil and the cultivation of the soil, and, above all, each is responsible, in his or her school, for a small garden. That, I think, is very important as the first step in the attempt to interest the coming generation in agricultural pursuits.

Then we have the possibility of this education, this interest, once started, being followed up in agricultural colleges, and in universities. But what I think is equally important at the other end is that the Universities of India should grant Degrees, not merely in Arts, and in Law, and in Science, but also in Agriculture, as a special subject, on the same intellectual level as others. I think that this is not the case at present. I have not yet had the pleasure of meeting any Indian Doctor of Agriculture. I feel sure that agricultural education at the end, in the universities, is quite as important as the first teaching in the elementary schools. What India wants is a number of well educated agriculturists who can lead progress in the country itself.

Now I come to the main point in Mr. Gupta's Paper. Here I am on much less certain ground, and I am sure that there are several present here to-day who are much better able to express an opinion on it than I am. The main point of Mr Gupta's Paper is that there ought to be a radical change in the land tenure system in India, that there ought to be a change from small holdings to large holdings, that the ryot should be encouraged rather to become an agricultural labourer than an agricultural proprietor on a small scale, as he is at the present time. Of course that interests us who live in this country very much, because we are trying to do exactly the opposite. We are convinced that large holdings are a mistake, and many of us are in favour of a multiplication of small holdings. I do not wish to use that as an argument against the contention in Mr Gupta's Paper. On the contrary, the conditions in India are wholly different from those in this country. In India you have the ryot, as a rule, uneducated, unenterprising, lacking the knowledge and initiative which are necessary to make even a small holding a success. He is not in a position to assimilate or to make use of the agricultural teaching, and the results of agricultural investigation in India to which Mr Gupta has alluded in his Paper. While it may very well be that, from our point of view, small holdings are the better plan, in India it may be desirable, as Mr Gupta contends, that holdings should be on a larger scale.

We all agree that agricultural production in India is exceedingly low, and ought to be far greater. But how is it to be made greater? Mr Gupta suggests that Government action is called for on the subject of land tenure. I have very grave doubts as to whether any Government could possibly now (and certainly not in the future) carry out any such change as Mr Gupta contemplates. I cannot believe that any modern Government could take action to dispossess the ryot of his holding of land, and compel him to be an agricultural labourer. It seems to me, however, that this is no reason why the movement should not be advanced, if it is a sound movement, from quite another direction. If it is to be advanced, it appears to me it can only be advanced in one way, and that is by voluntary action, by the combination of capitalist and worker on a profit sharing basis. Whether that is feasible in India is a matter for discussion, and I hope that something will be said on that point this afternoon. A co operative movement must be well led, and led by men of sound education, who know what they are talking about from the agricultural point of view. The plan that Mr. Gupta himself has followed is one which might well be general in India, assisted by the Universities. I mean the plan of enabling a man who has attained a competent knowledge of agriculture in India to go abroad for a certain number of years to study the advances made in other countries. I feel quite sure that Mr Gupta would tell you himself that he has derived enormous benefit from the studies he has made in this country, and from the contact he has had with other minds who are thinking of agricultural progress from a different point of view to that which obtains in India.

Miss SCATCHERD read the following letter from Dr Pollen

March 12, 1920.

MY DEAR MISS SCATCHERD,

If you are speaking on Mr Gupta's thoughtful and suggestive paper *re* "The Agricultural Development of India," perhaps you might voice these few remarks of mine thereon

Mr. Gupta is right in commenting on the lamentable fact that in India, where tens of thousands of students are annually appearing for Matriculation, few, if any, have ever been encouraged to give any thought to the land. We certainly have in this particular made a mess of our system—or no system—of education in the land of Ind

But I do not think Mr Gupta's idea of turning Indian small holdings into farms of the size of an average English farm, and "that the ryot of to-day should be employed as a farm servant" at all a good one for India. England used to be a land of small holdings when the interests of the many were in the land. It is now a land of large holdings out of which a few alone secure profit, and the old farming classes have been herded or hounded into the cities. We are trying to reverse this process now in the best interests of the people, and the cry is now "Back to the Land" and (as has been well said) "we ought to make it possible for the energetic countryman—the man with brains and character—to secure for himself a small holding into which he may put all his energy, and out of which he may hope to get something better than the wages of an ordinary labourer"

The movement from the land to the towns was arrested in Lincolnshire and Norfolk by the creation of small holdings, with the aid of the County Councils, and before the war, Sir Rider Haggard reported that in the neighbourhood of Epwood there were "twenty three men now farming five to 120 acres, each of whom had begun life as a labourer". In Denmark (the land that sends us so much of the butter we ought to make for our selves) five-sixths of the land is held by small freeholders and peasants who are state tenants, and in Denmark, in consequence of favourable land legislation, for the last sixty years there has been a steady exodus *from the towns to the country*, the very thing we want to secure in Great Britain. Every effort should be made in India to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not in those of mere hirelings or money lenders, and the best way to ensure this is to keep the land itself free for the freeman's own farming. Here in England, owing to our hide bound "superior landlord lawyer made law," the land has been tied and bound by selfish legislation and stinted in its productiveness. May India escape this fate and be saved from Levites, Lawyers, and Land grabbers is the hope of,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J. POLLEN.

She said that she was sure that those present would rather hear what so great an authority on the matter as Dr John Pollen had to say, than any thing that she had to say.

Mr. THAKUR said that ever since the time of Lord Curzon the statement had been made, not by irresponsible people, but by men holding responsible positions, that the land in India was over-taxed. It was not

possible to separate the question of the agriculture of India from the question of the existing land revenue which was taken by the Government. The amount of that land revenue would never decrease unless the Government thought of retrenchment.

A point which had been repeatedly urged was the development of irrigation. The superfluous water of the mighty rivers of India should be turned to some use by the carrying out of schemes of irrigation.

The Author had spoken of agricultural industries, but he had omitted to mention one thing—namely, that, in the past, Indian agriculturists worked at other industries apart from agricultural industries, for example such industries as hand loom weaving. Those industries must not be left out of consideration.

With regard to education, his view was that the best way in which to proceed was to introduce agricultural education in place of the existing secondary education. At the present time students in India were being taught German, and French, and so on. He thought that it would be better if the teaching of agriculture was substituted for the teaching of those languages.

At present many educated people, not only ordinary agitators but men of high standing, suspected that the Government was jealous of the spread of education, especially higher education, in India. That feeling would be removed if agricultural education was introduced along with secondary education. It was quite possible so to introduce it. If a change was made, and certain subjects were taught in the vernacular, much of the time in the time table could be devoted to the subject.

There was one matter upon which the Author ought to have touched—namely, that of the cow. Many people in England thought that the veneration in which the cow was held in India was due to superstition, but he wished to point out that the cow had an economic value. Sentiment which led to the preservation of the cow ought to be encouraged in India. The cow in India gave milk to a country in which infant mortality was very high, and it also gave to agriculturists their bullocks, the dung for manure and fuel, and the dung for the making of floors. Because the floors of the houses were made with dung, the people were saved the necessity of wearing shoes in the houses. If the floors were of stone it would be necessary for them to wear boots.

The Chairman had stated that the educated classes of India had a natural aversion from agriculture, but it was not so much the fact that the educated men of India were averse from agriculture, as it was the fact that agriculture had ceased to be profitable, and even the sons of large landowners had to enter one of the professions.

Conditions in India differed. Except in Bengal, where the permanent settlement prevailed, the holdings in India were small. Why did Sir William Wedderburn ask for an inquiry as to what an economical holding was? It was because he thought that the land was so much subdivided that the individual proprietor was not able to produce enough for himself, and he wanted to secure that holdings should not be subdivided beyond a

certain limit He (the speaker) believed that if the Government was to undertake legislation on the lines he had just referred to, there would be no danger

As to the permanent settlement in Bengal, he recognized that the vested interests were strong in Bengal, and that there was the probability that those vested interests might prevent the Government from taking any action directly, but the Government might work indirectly it might put a higher tax on the large landowners, and use the money obtained in buying up land for the small proprietors

The Chairman here suggested that, in view of the fact that Mr Thakur had exceeded the allowance of five minutes for speeches, he should read a Paper before the Association on the subject of land tenure in India. Then he would have an opportunity of doing justice to the subject He thought that he could hardly do justice to it on the present occasion

Mr Thakur, continuing, dealt with the question of the application to agriculture of scientific principles He said that the proprietor of a small holding could not afford to buy machinery, and therefore he was not able to apply any theoretical knowledge which he might have The Government might buy the machinery and let it out to the proprietors of small holdings and charge a tax, as in the case of irrigation In India it was not possible to do without Government action

Lady KATHARINE STUART wished to say how greatly she had enjoyed the delightful Paper It was very clear and instructive Her family had had a little personal experience of agriculture, and she thought that there was a reason for the neglect of agriculture by the educated classes in India, in addition to the objection to manual labour It was the uncertainty that was involved in agriculture She had known many clever, good farmers, and she had heard of others, who had been ruined by bad seasons People looked at the precariousness of the industry when they were choosing careers for their sons It seemed to her that what was needed was some form of co-operation in which all the responsibility would not have to be borne by the person who went in for agriculture, but in which he would still be his own master She sympathized with Dr Pollen when he said that he thought that the man should be the master in his own small holding.

As to the cow, she thought that the suggestion which had been made was a most excellent one Milk was the most important food The encouragement of cow-keeping was one of the best methods in which to go forward

She would wish to draw the attention of the lecturer and the audience to the work of Captain Petavel in connection with farm schools Both by the wisdom of teaching the young, and by the apostolic "foolishness of preaching" to the adult, the work could go forward in a land where science was no substitute for religion, but her most able servitor.

Miss BEADON referred to the teaching of agriculture as carried out in Marchirlo The system of teaching in that Italian Valley was so good, that she had many times wished that Captain Petavel was there to see it. Possibly the climate there would suit many Indians She was quite certain that the streams coming down the mountains there might be applied still more usefully, and make the fields still more productive.

Mr SYDNEY ROBERTS said that he agreed that, if school children had gardens, those gardens would naturally become a first step towards an interest in agriculture. His hopes and fears in connection with his own garden in India were a very powerful link with, and a key to, the hopes and fears of the agriculturists in the country round about. As his garden flourished or flagged, he had an opportunity of knowing what must have been the feelings of those who were more seriously interested because they were interested in their crops.

He wished to make one or two suggestions with reference to agricultural education.

In the first place, he had an observation to make which was of universal application in India. It was that the Indian parent, or guardian, was providing for the future of a young man, who would not have the choice of being a bachelor or of being a married man, but who was invariably intended to be a married man and the head of a family, and, therefore, a parent or a guardian who was selecting a vocation for a young man, was obliged to choose one in which there would be, perhaps not a very large, but an assured income which would maintain a married man.

He agreed most heartily that it was desirable to improve agricultural teaching in India, and to introduce further agricultural teaching, particularly the highest form of it, but it was essential that the parents or the guardians, or the young men themselves, should see before them an assured career. As had been pointed out by the Author, India required infinitely more agricultural schools and colleges and places of research than at present existed. The Presidency with which the fortunes of his family had been linked for many years, and which was generally known as the "benghted" Presidency, set an excellent example in this matter to the rest of India. If large numbers of educated men were to be attracted to agriculture, it must be proved to them that, if they went in for agriculture, they would have a career before them. It must be remembered that the Indian was essentially a member of a joint family, and essentially also a married man, and that, therefore, he could not start out as a sort of pioneer, because he could not throw his responsibilities overboard.

When the Colonial Exhibition was held in Marseilles in 1906, he went, as an unauthorized and unpaid deputation, to the Exhibition, on his return from a period of leave in England, in order to try and find out whether, in their system of education in their Colonies, the French were doing any thing in the way of agricultural education. It would appear that, after an interval of fourteen years, Ceylon had begun what had been already well established in the French possessions in Morocco and Algeria by 1906. The introduction of nature study into Indian schools did not involve embarking on an untried experiment. It was embarking on something which had proved successful in Algeria and other parts of Northern Africa, and which, therefore, must succeed in India.

The subject of the cow was one of great interest in Southern India. It was inextricably bound up with the very important subject of the forest laws, and forestry generally. There was a delightful tradition in the Forestry Department about a certain high official. The grazing capacity of a forest



was the number of cattle which could safely be turned to graze in it without destroying all hope of getting young trees, without the growth of which the forest must inevitably perish. A certain high official, being informed that the grazing capacity of a forest was two thousand head of cattle, ordered, by a stroke of the pen, that the grazing capacity should be raised to four thousand.

The trouble with regard to the cow was that, with the limited grazing grounds, there was competition between the cattle which were in full milk and what had been known as the "old dry cow." He had no right to enter into the controversy. He only asked, "What are you going to do to improve your breed of cattle, if you do not diminish the numbers of useless heads?"

With regard to leather, it was not possible to improve the export of leather until the police work was improved. In order to prevent cattle thieving to some extent, people would brand their cattle, and therefore destroy the value of the hides. If there was good police work there would be less branding.

He was in strong sympathy with the legislative alterations which the Author had suggested, but he thought that it might be a long time before they were carried out. He considered that success would be achieved on the lines of increasing what might be called primary agricultural education, on the lines of intensifying secondary agricultural education, and on the lines of improving the highest agricultural education.

The Madras Presidency had succeeded in adding five rupees to the value of every bale of cotton grown in Tinnevely. The total number of bales was 70,000 per annum.

It was necessary to take human nature as it was. The matter of following up agriculture, and of studying agricultural science was a matter also of dignity. Among other things which could be done to help agriculture in India was the starting of an Indian Order of Agricultural Merit. An Order of Agricultural Merit already existed in France. He seriously believed that it would be a good thing if the zemindar who set an excellent example over a number of years in regard to improved methods of agriculture or cattle breeding, or improved methods of irrigation, had such an order bestowed upon him. It would be an excellent bait to those who always required some star or order on their breast as a stimulus to further exertion.

The CHAIRMAN proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to the Author and to the speakers. He said that if he were in Mr Rice's place he would make a note of the names and addresses of certain of the speakers that afternoon, and ask them to read papers before the Association on future occasions. The discussion had been a most interesting one. He wished to express his own thanks to the Association for having given him such an interesting afternoon.

*The motion was carried by acclamation.*

Mr RYAN moved that a hearty vote of thanks be given to the Chairman for presiding.

*The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.*

The SECRETARY said that the Author ought to have had an opportunity of replying, but the hour was so late that he would not be able to reply.

The CHAIRMAN suggested that the Author should write his reply.

The SECRETARY said that the Author might be able to send him some notes on the subject. He (the Secretary) had been rather anxious to speak, but under the circumstances he would not be able to.

The proceedings then terminated.

Mr SEN GUPTA writes as follows :

I am in full sympathy with the suggestion made by the Chairman that agriculture should be taught in rural schools. Even a "smattering" of agriculture gained at the village primary school cannot fail to be of use both to the future farmer and the farm labourer of India. An intelligent farm labourer, capable of taking a genuine interest in his work on the land, is obviously to be preferred to another who has no interest in the land beyond earning his living. I believe the village primary school should be able to do much in the way of arousing such an interest in its scholars. I would, however, not go so far as to agree with another speaker who suggested that agriculture should occupy a place similar to that of a second language in all schools. I do not think such an arrangement is either practicable or desirable. We have no intention of becoming a nation of agriculturists only, although agriculture will always remain our chief industry. Agriculture, as a compulsory subject in school education, will simply be wasted on those who are going to follow other pursuits of life than agricultural. Moreover, agriculture is not a subject, but rather a conglomeration of subjects which are best taught in schools especially set apart for the purpose, if the teaching is to be of any use to those who are past the elementary school stage.

In spite of the Chairman's remark that large holdings are a mistake I still adhere to the belief that the future of India's agriculture lies in extensive farming conducted by men possessing capital and initiative. Perhaps it would have been better if I advocated something even larger than an average English farm—something similar to the industrialized farm recommended by Sir A. D. Hall in his "Agriculture after the War". Small holdings, without co-operation, are the very negation of improvement and progress. Even when backed by the most efficient co-operative organization, it is a question whether they are as productive of good results as large farms capable of using all the resources of science.

More speakers than one have pointed out the necessity of protecting cows from being slaughtered. I hope they are not labouring under the misapprehension that I have favoured their slaughter. Even in a pre-eminently beef-eating country like England, cows are never slaughtered until they are useless as milk-producers. We shall certainly not think of adopting in India the uneconomical method of killing cows for the production of meat so long as they are yielding milk.

It has been remarked that we should decrease our head of live-stock,

especially cattle, owing to the insufficient grazing capacity of the land. Would it not be wiser to find a different solution to the problem?—namely, to increase the grazing capacity of the land which, coupled with a liberal use of concentrated foods, will allow of even an augmented head of live stock being comfortably and profitably maintained on the land. Scientific agriculture is not powerless in the matter of improving pastures and meadows, but before any advance can be made in this direction it is essential that the country must wake up to the importance of developing our sadly neglected live-stock as one of the two fundamental branches of agriculture.

There are many other points to which replies might be given, but as I do not propose to write another paper, they must be left alone.

## INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY KANHAYALAL GAUBA

THE Covenant of the League of Nations, with which I am particularly concerned to-day, forms the first part of the Treaty of Peace signed at the Palace of Versailles on the 28th of June this year. (The Treaty is a voluminous document running into nearly 450 different articles.) The Covenant is a short and brief affair of 26 Articles, but if we add to this the Labour sections (Part XIII., Arts. 387-487, of the Treaty), which form an essential supplement to the Covenant of the League, we have a total of nearly 70 articles.

Even the most casual observer will not have failed to notice the remarkable contrast between Part I. and the rest of the fifteen Parts of the Treaty—excepting, of course, Part XIII. The Treaty of Peace is, as it were, split into two irreconcilable and well-marked divisions. It is the work of two men. Two ideals, two visions, two outlooks pervade it. The first part belongs to youth and the time yet to come, to liberalism and hope; the second to age, to the centuries which have sped, to conservatism and distrust of the destinies of man. Just as the future and the past are irreconcilable, as the minds of the great President of the United States and the old Premier of France are irreconcilable, even so is the Covenant of the League of Nations incommensurable with the terms of "peace." With these terms of peace I am not here concerned, nor do I propose to discuss them, except those very few which are relevant to our discussion to-day—I mean the terms affecting directly or indirectly the continent of Asia.

After five years of terrible warfare, the world calls a halt and mankind takes a reckoning. Where do we stand?

On the brink of a precipice ; on the verge of not only national calamity, but world-tragedy. The world must be saved.

The Covenant of the League of Nations is the outcome of this desire. The world must be saved. The old order has failed ; a new era must be inaugurated. But even to-day, after all the lessons of the past, we find people talking of alliances. Why not form an alliance (as indeed there has been formed, I am sorry to say) between England, France, and the United States? You would secure the peace of the world immediately. Would you? These people do not understand that the very principle of alliances is wrong and doomed to failure. It has always failed, and it will always fail. To create one alliance is to help to create an opposing alliance. You can never convince the world that the alliance you form is merely for the preservation of peace. What guarantee is there? Your good intentions they would not accept, for is not even the way to hell paved with good intentions? If you can form an alliance with good intentions, so can others. If you can build armaments with good intentions, why not others? No, this whole principle is evil—fundamentally amiss. The world has run on a wrong gear for centuries, the gear must be changed ; the strings we have played have been out of tune, hence the discord. To change the tune is not enough : we want new strings, a new bow, and new music. The world wants, not an alliance of one or two nations, not a combination of one or two peoples, but a League of all the nations, a combination of every State and people, irrespective of creed, colour, or nationality. We want a League, not of men, but of mankind. *Si vis pacem, para pacem.*

Readers of history will know that the idea of the League of Nations is not in the least a new one. A league of nations is merely an extension of the principle of international convention and law. Pierre Dubois, in 1305, suggested a combination of all Christian countries for the furtherance of peace and prevention of war by the establish-

ment of a Court of Arbitration to settle differences which might arise between the members of his League. Antoine Marini, the Chancellor of Bohemia, propounded a similar scheme a century and a half later. He advocated, not only an alliance of all Christian States, but also the establishment of a supreme Congress in Basle. Emerie Crucée, in 1623, in expounding his plans for a League of Nations, wanted, not an alliance of Christian States, but an alliance—if you can so call it—of all the existing States in the world, with a Federal Council in Venice. There have been since many similar attempts, such as the Holy Alliance, but I have scarcely time to deal with them here; sufficient is it to say that the first *real* foundation of a League was laid at the Hague in the shape of the two Conventions.

The present Convention is almost entirely based on General Smuts' now famous book. It is not my business to-day to defend or discuss the principles on which the Covenant is based. These have already been eloquently enunciated by others better fitted to do so than myself. Moreover I feel that to restate the arguments in favour of a League of Nations would be merely pronouncing myself a back-number. I regard the League as an accepted fact, and as such I now propose to deal with it as briefly as possible.

The object of the League is, according to the preamble of the Covenant, to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security. This the members of the League hope to accomplish by accepting obligations not to resort to war: firstly, by adopting open and honourable relations among themselves, and, secondly, by treating as sacred all international understandings and treaty obligations.

Thus the terms of reference of the League are numerous. Its functions, according to the Covenant as accepted by the Paris Conference, are (1) the limitation of armaments, (2) settlement of international disputes, (3) the granting of mandates and their supervision, and (4) miscellaneous

duties, such as the solution of labour questions, trade, industry, traffic in women and children, and so on. As time goes on the duties of the League will become still more manifold.

The working of the League is to be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and a Council, with a permanent Secretariat. The Assembly will be composed of the representatives of the members of the League (at present thirty-one States). To these we add fifteen more who have already been invited to accede to the Covenant. They will all probably signify their assent either before or soon after the first meeting of the League. While the Assembly is open to *all* members accepting the Covenant, the membership of the Council is limited. The composition, to begin with, will consist of the representatives of the five Great Powers and the representatives of four States elected by the Assembly. The functions of the Secretariat are what they usually are, but one clause in Art. 7 is worthy of note. It runs : "All positions under or in connection with the League, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women." Eternal Woman !

The Covenant makes elaborate provisions for the settlement of disputes, and, if the members of the League endeavour to follow in the spirit of the Covenant and international justice, war is virtually impossible. The limitation of armaments, coupled with efficient machinery for the enforcement of obligations and decisions, make the League a powerful instrument in the maintenance of international peace.

As the Covenant now stands, the following Asiatic countries, being signatories of the Treaty of Peace, are thus original members of the League : Japan, China, India, Siam, and a part of Syria under the King of the Hedjaz ; and among those invited to accept the Covenant, Persia is the only Asiatic country. Persia accepting, as she most probably will, we can divide Asia almost perfectly into two parts, one half represented on the League and the

other not. The dividing line runs from the Sea of Okhotska along the Yabloni mountains to the Pamir Plateau, then southward along the eastern slopes of the Hindukush to Kelat, then westward to the Elburz Mountains and the Caspian Sea, and finally terminating at Aleppo and the coast of Palestine. Countries south and east will be represented in the near future at the seat of the League ; those to the north and west not yet. The unrepresented States south of the Line will be Nepal, Bhutan, Cambodia and Annam ; States unrepresented north and west of the Line will be Russia-in-Asia, Afghanistan and Turkey.

I have often held that if there is an eighth wonder of the world the privilege of its possession belongs to my country. The absence of all Indian interest in affairs outside the boundaries of India is, forsooth, a wonder—to some a marvel of colossal dimensions. It was only the other day that I wished to discuss the position of India as a member of the League with an eminent Indian politician, but what was my surprise to find that he had not even read the Covenant (the treaty was published nearly a year ago)! I then asked him if he didn't consider India's entry into the field of international diplomacy as one of the most momentous events of modern times. He replied, so long as India got poetry as a transferred subject in Mr. Montagu's Bill he did not mind and did not care what else happened !

I did not blame him. Being an Indian, I could understand him perfectly. Did not history corroborate his point of view ? Of course it did. From Vedic times down to this year of grace 1920, has India ever aspired to a large empire ? have Indians ever desired to go beyond the frontiers of their country and colonize other lands ? have Indians ever wished to cross the ocean highways and have dominions beyond the sea ? There have been outbursts here and there, scattered in time and scattered in place, but *nothing definite, nothing consecutive, nothing real*. We have always desired to die within the borders of



our own land. We have had no ambitions beyond the ambitions to compose poems and discuss metaphysics. The material aspect of life has never presented itself to our minds. Although we have from time immemorial been subjected to innumerable foreign invasions, religious persecutions and political servitude, the flow of our rhyme and rhythm has not been checked, and poems we still prefer to a Government.

If this was deplorable in the past it is still more so to-day. India cannot afford to be oblivious of the world around her. India must either move or "go under." The tests of modern life and international existence are keen and severe, and it is only the fittest who will survive. India as a national unit is not enough; India must be an international unit. It is not enough that her problems are of national importance; her problems must be of international importance. Japan realized the significance and importance of breaking the shell of antiquated ideas and tradition, and emerging into the world of competition. She made up her mind in 1854, within a year of the first Perry incident. Her struggle for recognition was bitter (the story of her remarkable career of success sounds like a fairy tale). But India has already been "recognized," and her original membership of the League of Nations makes her position in the sphere of international relations singularly fortunate.

India's new position under the League calls for the most thorough restatement of the theories of Indian policy and the future of Indian diplomacy. It may be argued that until India is mistress within her own borders all talk of international relations is out of the question. I venture to deny the force of this argument; but even if I were to admit it, I would still hold that it is the duty of India to make herself heard and her influence felt in foreign affairs, and particularly in questions affecting the peace of Asia. The theories of her internal government also want radical alteration, and the political outlook must be different.

I will endeavour to show, taking the problems point by point, that the prospects of the future are not half so gloomy as they may appear at first sight.

The manner of India's representation at the Assembly of the League is a matter for conjecture. Who will represent her? We must bear in mind that a maximum of three representatives is allowed, but each country has not more than one vote. The obvious interpretation of this is that these representatives will not have any private discretion, but will speak and vote as ordered by their respective Governments (an existing principle of international diplomacy). This is one of the faults of the Covenant which I have refrained from emphasizing in the hope that the League will itself rectify the shortcomings of the Covenant. In the meantime we must accept the Covenant as it stands.

India is to have three representatives and one vote. The first question which presents itself is the question of representation. Who is to represent her? In the Peace Conference she was represented by the Secretary of State in person, Lord Sinha, and the Maharajah of Bikanir. A better combination at the time could hardly have been possible. (Lord Sinha was not a signatory of the Treaty of Peace.) It is scarcely probable that in the future such a successful combination would be possible, or, even if it were possible, that it would work.

The Councils under the new Reform Bill have set up, for the first time in the annals of British India, an elected majority to control and have a voice in matters affecting the government and administration of India. It is not likely that this elected majority will for long content itself with the functions assigned to it under the new Government of India Bill. They would justly claim the right to elect, or, at the very least, to have a say in the election or choice of the representative or representatives to the League. Nominations in the face of a hostile elected majority will be neither feasible nor desirable. But there is another

point we must bear in mind. The Assembly of the League may reject by a majority vote the credentials of representatives not having the support of the Councils in India. This would be an unpleasant pass.

It is not an improbable supposition that for some time to come, at any rate, the Secretary of State will be one of the representatives for India in the Assembly of the League. He will co-ordinate the views of the Cabinet and the Government of India. It is also natural to expect that of the other two, one will be an Indian prince and one a commoner. In the selection of this last mentioned, Indian public opinion will naturally claim a voice, and it cannot be denied that before long this member of the delegation will have to be elected.

My mention of a prince in the Indian delegation raises a somewhat moot point. So far, in Imperial Conferences and in the Peace Conference, the nomination of a prince to represent the States was an affair entirely between the India Office and the Government of India. Northern India, which is so sparse in great commoners, is evidently rich in brilliant princes! For are not both Bikanir and Patiala in Northern India? But jealousy was never a crime among princes! However, selection by nomination will not for long do; election will have to be substituted. Who said democracy was a dead-letter?

The Delhi Conferences revealed a significant fact—that the Princes of India had no longer a desire to keep themselves separate and apart, but to co-ordinate one with another. This is a happy sign. The Indian States have so far been regarded and have acted as separate units, but in the exigencies of modern times they have come together, and they desire to come still further together. The conferences have crystallized into a permanent institution. The new Chamber of Indian Princes has no executive power, but it will, no doubt, elect a member to represent it at the League.

Having considered the question of the membership of the

Indian legation at the seat of the League, let us consider briefly India's position in Asia.

The growth of Japan in the last half-century is a matter not only for surprise and wonder, but, one must admit, for fear and alarm, too. It was only in 1862 that Japan was invaded and bombarded by European vessels of war, and to-day, scarcely sixty years after, Japan stands in the foremost rank of the Great Powers of the world, threatening not only to swamp the Powers around her, but to overrun the world itself. It is not so very long ago I was reading the text of a secret treaty between Germany and Japan, signed on the one hand by a certain obscure Japanese plenipotentiary named Oda, and on the other by Lutzius, the German Ambassador from Berlin. The authenticity of this treaty has been repeatedly denied, but with evidence from Japanese and other sources, and taking into consideration various facts of current events, the existence of such a treaty is not at all improbable. The first Article gives the clue to the whole of this wonderful document. It runs: "Both High Contracting Parties bind themselves, as soon as the world's political situation permits, to help the third Party, Russia, to obtain under their direction the settlement of her internal affairs and the position of a world Power." Of the three States mentioned, Japan is the only one which could act as the Good Samaritan. Germany, by herself, could not rise again for at least half a century to come, and it is the same with Russia; but with the aid of a friendly Power they could both stand on their legs again in a comparatively short time. The question is not whether they must rise again or not, for it goes without saying that the future of international relations will indeed be a sad affair without the co-operation of Germany and Russia, but the real question is, which Power is to give the helping hand? Great Britain, France, and Italy are cooped up with prejudice and hatred, America is busy solving her own internal affairs; the only remaining Power is, therefore, Japan. While Europe is committing *felo de se*, Japanese

imperialism grows more and more. Think of it: Japan helping to rejuvenate Germany and Russia! Think of it! We might as well drop Germany and Russia out of our discussion and speak of a Japanese Empire stretching, at first, from the North Sea to the Sea of Okhotska, and then from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, everything inclusive.

Can this be avoided? Is it possible to evolve the future of the world on different lines? I think it is. In Europe the only solution is the immediate entry of Russia and Germany into the League—the helping hand being not Japanese but European—and in Asia, future peace lies in the hands of China and India.

China, I am afraid, is nearly out of our grasp. Shantung has been made over, and in a few years China will follow, and then, one by one, the remaining Asiatic States must pass into the Yellow fold. This disaster, in my opinion, can also be averted. In the near future India's membership of the League is not enough: she must be able to defend her country. Her frontiers must be secure and her shores protected, and the air above her impregnable. With India safe, Asia is safe; with India lost, Asia is lost. There is no better guarantee for the continent of Australia than an awakened, enlightened and prosperous India.

Did I not just now say that one of the necessities for the peace of Asia was that India's frontiers should be secure? With Afghanistan making sporadic invasions and incursions into India, any further disarmament of India (she is anything but armed) would be incompatible with national safety. Afghanistan is neither a member of the League, nor has she expressed any desire to become one. Her inhabitants are wild and ignorant, and live mainly by the sword. The frontiers between India and Afghanistan are infested with countless independent, lawless tribes, who admit no convention except the right of war, and they keep the peace only so long as they are paid to do it—and not often then. During the last year their activities have caused not a little anxiety in the Punjab and Northern India in general.

Lord Curzon may have many shortcomings, but certainly weakness is not one of them. He may have committed many errors and misjudgments in his administration of the internal affairs of India, but one can never accuse him of having committed any error or misjudgment in the administration of India's foreign relations. His frontier policy was sound. Lord Chelmsford is an entirely different man. If strength is malady, the present Governor-General is undoubtedly healthy. I am not here concerned with Lord Chelmsford's internal administration of India, nor would I care to encroach upon that theme, but few, I believe, will disagree that the Governor-General's foreign policy has, as a whole been a failure. The treaty negotiated with Afghanistan by Sir Hamilton Grant on behalf of the Government of India is one of the most short-sighted and stupid affairs in the history of modern India.

The treaty which has just been concluded with Persia bears, on the other hand, an entirely different stamp. It is Curzonian through and through. It carries the impression of the hand of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The treaty is a strong "affair"—in fact, so strong that it runs the danger of being disallowed by the League.

The provisions of this treaty are unquestionably sweeping in their character. Although I cannot personally see that it amounts to a mandate for Persia, it is not unlike the beginning of an Egyptian Protectorate. The clauses of the treaty briefly are :

1. The British Government reaffirms once again its respect for the independence and integrity of Persia.
2. The British Government will supply at the cost of the Persian Government the services of experts for the conduct of administration ;
3. The British Government will also supply at the cost of the Persian Government whatever arms and munitions may be necessary to preserve law and order in Persia and to protect her frontiers ;

4. The British Government will provide a loan for which adequate security must be provided by the Persian Government ;
5. The loan of £2,000,000 is granted to Persia provided she pays an interest of 7 per cent., while making this interest and the sinking fund the first charge upon certain of her revenues ;
6. The British Government promises its help and support in various economic and industrial schemes and enterprises.

One million pounds out of the loan of two millions comes from the pocket of the Indian taxpayer. What is his position in regard to it ?

While leaving you to ponder over this question, I pass on to the question of mandates. Slightly over a year ago Sir Sidney Olivier, in a pamphlet published by the Oxford University Press, pleaded for the protection of what he termed "primitive peoples" by the League of Nations. His appeal was couched in sincere and eloquent terms. Sir Sidney was quite right when he said : "Whatever agreement the League may be able to reach for the limitation of armaments among the Powers, . . . the safeguards against the oppression of primitive peoples under European overlordship must be absolute under penalty of forfeiture."

For the purpose of protecting people not yet able to stand on their own legs, the Covenant of the League introduces the principle of mandates, whereby advanced nations, on account of their resources, experience, or geographical position, accept the tutelage of backward countries on behalf of the League. Central Africa, the islands of the Pacific, Armenia, and Mesopotamia are conspicuous examples of countries in which this new system of mandates will be employed. There are many who oppose this principle of mandates, and frankly I do not like it, but at the moment, in spite of its many weak points

and grave shortcomings, it appears to be the only possible solution of a thorny problem.

The future of that vast country known as Mesopotamia still remains undetermined. I believe I shall not be antagonizing anyone when I suggest that the mandate for Mesopotamia should be entrusted to India. There are some who have advocated this on the grounds that Mesopotamia was conquered by Indian soldiers; but Indian soldiers never embarked on any conquest, and those who believe in the League of Nations know of no conquest—other than the conquest of hearts! On the other hand, there are many who are against this proposition for reasons which, to say the least, are vague. Personally I cannot see a more suitable or feasible solution of the problem than granting the mandate to India. Somebody *has to* take the responsibility of the task of the development of Mesopotamia, and European nations are alien in temperament, outlook and manners. The choice thus falls to Asia, and which country is better fitted to perform this duty than India?

I have already mentioned once or twice that Part XIII. of the Treaty of Peace (Arts. 387-487) forms an integral part of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Part XIII. is generally termed the Labour Covenant, and the Articles in this part and one Article in Part I. form one of the most remarkable documents ever penned by the hand of man. (Just as the League of Nations is a lasting tribute to the genius of President Wilson, so is the Labour Covenant a testimony to Mr. Barnes.) As the preamble says the High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as a desire to secure the peace of the world, agree to the Labour Covenant. The objects of this Covenant are the regulation and standardization of the hours of work, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage for every workman, the protection of the poor from sickness and disease, and also the protection of women and young children and the care of the old and injured. The traffic in human beings is



also a matter of concern for the League of Nations. The conditions of labour in India under this Covenant must undergo a radical change. What more happy omen can there be for the Asiatic labourer than India and Japan accepting (during the Washington Conference) the eight-hour day?

Before I bring to a close this rapid survey, I must encroach for a very few minutes on your patience in order to sum up India's position as a factor of Asiatic peace. I believe it was Tolstoy who said: "I see Europe in flames." Nogi carried on the prophecy by declaring that the second great war would be in Asia. Looking at things as they are, it certainly does not appear improbable that the next great conflict will be waged east of the Ural Mountains. The centre of this conflict, if it comes about, will undoubtedly be India. Already events are moving to that end. The discontent in the Mohammedan world over the unsettled fate of Turkey, the alliance between the Afghans and the Soviet Government of Moscow, coupled with the latest exhibitions of Japanese Imperialism in Shantung, all point to a general Asiatic conflagration in the near future. Of the countries that would suffer, India would probably suffer most.

I have already pointed out the stern necessity of a strong frontier between India and Afghanistan. To safeguard her coasts, India wants a fleet compatible with her national safety. Personally I have always felt that fleets scattered in different parts of the world are better safeguards to a far-flung Empire than a fleet, however powerful, concentrated at a single point, and nothing has made me happier than to see that Lord Jellicoe, in his Australian Report (published recently), takes the same view. India could well afford to equip and man a large enough fleet to defend her shores. Both Australia and India are fortunate in having natural safeguards. The Pacific Islands form a protective belt, (they could be effectively mined in case of war), and the Straits of Malacca could be easily defended by a con-

centration of the Indian and Australian Fleets at Singapore. With the limitation of armaments, a couple of small fleets should be sufficient to keep the peace in the Pacific.

I am sorry President Wilson had to abandon his "point" regarding the freedom of the seas. For myself I cannot see what great objection can be raised to this principle, as the days of fleets are numbered. Of all forms of national armament, navies will be the first to be abolished, since there will be no use for them. Lord Fisher, while "scrapping the lot" of the Fleet, pins his hope on submarines alone. I feel I can go a step further and scrap the submarines too! To cross the ocean highways in the near future in anything else except an aeroplane would be pronouncing oneself an antiquated fossil! The transport of cargo through the air is only a matter of a few years, and the freedom of the seas would be the natural sequence of events, since ships would automatically pass out of use. In the meantime we want a decentralization of the British Fleet.

The real safeguards, however, to Asiatic peace will be the League of Nations. Firm and abiding peace will only be a certainty when every nation realizes and believes or is convinced that its safety lies, not in its armament but in its disarmament. This also can only be when every State is a member of the League. Therefore, just as the crux of the question of European peace hinges on the admission of the Central Powers into the fold of the League, so does the peace of Asia depend on the immediate admission of Russia and Turkey. To toy with Russia and Turkey is playing with fire. Mohammedan feeling must not be injured, it must be appeased. If handled with statesmanship it can become the bedrock of Asiatic stability, if handled with prejudice the pyre of Asiatic prosperity. For this reason I have always believed that Egypt and Ireland should be given seats on the League analogous to those of Persia and India.

Finally, I have one note of warning to sound. The

co-operation and sympathy of Asiatic peoples in general with the aims and object of the League of Nations can be but half-hearted until that great principle of the equality of races is recognized. From an authentic account of the Peace Conference it appears that the amendment known as the Japanese amendment to the draft of the Covenant was not opposed by the members of the American delegation, it had the support of the priests from Whitehall, the members of the Indian delegation welcomed it, but the amendment was rejected. None other than one of our own dominions was responsible for it. There is, however, nothing in the Covenant to prevent the issue being brought up again, and it is likely that the equality of races will be recognized. It must be.

I have tried to deal with the League of Nations in Asia, with special reference to India. My survey, owing to the exigencies of time and circumstances, has been necessarily rapid and very incomplete, but if I have succeeded in convincing at least some of you, and in particular some of my countrymen, that the Covenant is no wild-cat scheme, and that the League is not some fantastic creation, or figment of the imagination of madmen, I amply fulfil my task. Those who distrust the League on account of the provisions of Article 10 (under this Article the integrity of India in case of an Afghan invasion is guaranteed by the League) may take an assurance from one who has studied the Covenant with some care, that there is absolutely nothing in the document which fixes the *status quo in æternum*. The very objects of the League are to alter the *status quo* of States without war, and to give liberty to subject peoples without revolution. Nobody is so foolish as to suggest that the Covenant as it stands is perfect, or the League of Nations as constituted ideal, but it is a beginning. Let us give it a chance, and not only a chance, but our active aid and co-operation, so that it may succeed in the great task before it, and secure to the world international peace and mutual goodwill. We must remember that the history of the world

is the history of the decay of empires. Egypt, Persia, China, Greece, Rome, Spain, France, all have seen their empires rise and fall. I remember towards dusk one evening, scarcely more than a year and a half ago, I was standing in the courtyard of the Palazzo Senatorio in Rome, gazing on perhaps the most wonderful and awe-inspiring sight I had ever seen. It was the sight of Rome crumbled to the dust—a heap of ruins. In the evening twilight I could discern a pillar here and a column there, a pile of bricks in this corner and a heap of sand in that. “Is this the Forum?” I asked. Yes, it was the Forum—the Forum of ancient Rome. This was all that was left of that Mistress of the World, the City of the Seven Hills, the Eternal City. Yes, that Rome a heap of dust. Yes, that Forum a pile of mouldering ruins. The Palace of the Cæsars, where was it? I peered through the evening gloom. Just a vague outline of it I could see. It was like a ghost enshrouded in mystery, dead as the night. Its lights were extinguished. Rome’s lights were extinguished.

“THEY THAT TAKE THE SWORD SHALL PERISH BY THE  
SWORD.”

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, which was held at the Lincolnshire Room, 7A, Tothull Street, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, April 19, 1920, a paper was read by Kanhayalal Gauba, Esq., entitled "India and the League of Nations." Major David Davies was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr Robert H Cust, Lady Kensington, Lady Katharine Stuart, Major General Count A Spiridovitch, Mr W Coldstream, K.I.H., Miss Burton, Miss Simms, Mr D N Bannerjee, Miss M Sorabjee, Mrs Jackson, Miss Addey, Mr F Whelan, Mr and Mrs H R H Wilkinson, Mr G Prasad, Miss Vertue, Mr I N. Thakor, Mr and Mrs H R Cook, Miss Mary Morgan, Mr W Frank, Mr W O Clayton Greene, Mrs Drury, Miss E St. John Wileman, Mr F C Channing, I.C.S. (retired), Miss Hopley, Mrs Hyde, Mr Duncan Irvine, I.C.S. (retired), Miss F R Scatcherd, Colonel F S Terry, Miss Collis, Mr H R James and son, Mr and Mrs P D Robertson, Colonel and Mrs Aplin, Mr J B Hall, Mr H L Leach, Miss H M Howsin, Mr G E R Grant Brown, I.C.S. (retired), Mr C Leo Parker, Mr J S Dhunjabhai, Mr F Grubb, Mr F H Brown, Mr K B L Seth, Mr F J P Richter, Mr E H Tabak, and Mr J B Pennington, acting as Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in coming here this afternoon to take the chair, and I desire to thank the Association very cordially for their kind invitation. I am afraid I must plead great ignorance about India, but I am particularly interested in the future and success of the League of Nations, and therefore I was extremely pleased to accept the invitation to come here to-day. I have come to hear a most interesting lecture from Mr Gauba, who, as you are aware, is a student at Cambridge University, and has already made a name for himself by delivering several interesting lectures on questions connected with India. I feel sure we all appreciate the great work which the East India Association is doing in bringing us together, and giving the people of this country an opportunity of meeting their friends from India in order to discuss questions in which we are all vitally interested, and we are very much indebted to Mr Gauba for coming this afternoon. I am sure he will give us a most instructive address, and I have now great pleasure in calling upon him to read his paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: I find that the next item on the agenda is an address by the Chairman, and I rise to express your feelings and to thank Mr Gauba for his very excellent paper. It is full of new thoughts and new ideas. We might not perhaps agree with all he says, but, at any rate,

it provides us with food for reflection, and I am sure we are very grateful to him for the great care he has taken and the amount of work which it must have taken to prepare so very interesting and instructive a document

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I will not take up your time more than a few minutes, but there are one or two points which we hope to discuss at this meeting, and, if I may say so, I think it is a very fortunate choice of a subject for discussion—the position of India with regard to the League of Nations

- I do not think any subject is of greater importance, especially at this time when the whole future of the League of Nations appears to be in the melting pot. Mr Gauba has told us in his paper that in India there is a good deal of apathy towards what we call "foreign affairs." I am afraid that is true, not only of India, but of a great many other countries in the world and, perhaps, only too true of our own country. We know that before the war foreign affairs were regarded as the special preserve of the Foreign Office, the diplomatist, and a few distinguished individuals who were supposed to know all about our relationships with the peoples of other countries. The ordinary person in the street, even an ordinary member of Parliament, was not supposed to know anything about the subject. If the war has taught us anything at all, it has taught us that the interests of every citizen and every elector in the country, his whole future and his own personal interests are indissolubly bound up with the question of what is called "foreign policy" which is simply our relationship, as a people, with the peoples who inhabit other countries in the world. There is no very great mystery about it. The people of this country and every other country ought to understand, and ought to try and understand, the principles upon which the conduct of foreign affairs is to be carried on in their names and on their behalf. They should gain a clear understanding and impress that understanding upon their respective Governments, in order that we may secure in the future a more intelligent interest in all that appertains to our foreign relationships. I sincerely hope that that will also be the case in India in spite of the fact that our friend here tells us that up to now Indians have been more engrossed in their home affairs than in their relationships with other peoples abroad.

I should like to make two observations, if I may, with regard to this question of India and the League of Nations. The first is, that some people tell us—and I suppose they have very good authority for doing so—that India is not a nation, but a group of nations, and that India will never be a nation. I do not know how much there is to be said for that point of view, but, at any rate, we have an absolute fact before us at the present moment—that is, that India has been recognized as a nation in the Covenant of the League. India has been singled out as one of the countries which is to have representatives upon the Assembly of the League. I agree with Mr Gauba that that is a great outstanding fact, and one which should thrill the people of India with pride. They have been definitely recognized in the Covenant, and the responsibility of sending their

nominees to represent them on the League is one which is definitely laid down in the Covenant

The second point is this We know that the Covenant of the League of Nations has introduced what is called a "mandatory system" I do not know that the mandate is the only instrument or organization by which international control can be exercised I do not think it is, but, at any rate, it is one of the methods which have been laid down in the Covenant for dealing with those countries which are thought to be in a position to be unable to govern themselves Certain countries have been definitely assigned the duties of acting as trustees for those peoples As I understand it, the object is gradually to create the necessary conditions whereby these peoples may, in course of time—it may be a long process—but in course of time may be able to manage their own affairs and may become self governing communities That means, it seems to me, that what has hitherto been known as the right of conquest has been, once and for all, abolished The right of conquest has been repudiated in the provisions of the Covenant, and I should have thought that all were prepared to realize that condition of things as far as other countries are concerned. The same principle in reality applies to our position in regard to India We can only regard ourselves as trustees for the interests, welfare, prosperity and progress of the peoples of India.

I think that theory is definitely recognized in Mr Montagu's Bill, which seeks to set up a progressive system whereby, in the future, the time will arrive when the people of India will become a self governing community

Those are two points on which I think it would be very interesting to have a discussion this afternoon Another matter which I want to mention is this There are a great many of us who believe that no League of Nations can become a reality, or ever become a success, or can ever achieve the objects for which the Covenant has been drawn up, unless working side by side in every country which becomes a member of the League is a great voluntary organization which will protect the principles of the League, and carry on a violent propaganda, a strenuous propaganda, in order to mould public opinion, when necessary, on behalf of the principles and the work of the League of Nations In this country there is an organization called the League of Nations Union It is a purely voluntary society, which embraces all the political parties in the country. The duty of this association is to try and instil into the minds of the people of this country the principles and the basis upon which the League of Nations rests, by creating branches in different parts of the country, by enrolling members, by lectures, public meetings, and by other forms of propaganda We hope that, in course of time, not only hundreds and thousands, but millions of our fellow-countrymen will be definitely enrolled as protagonists of the League If the opportunity arises, and if by any chance the day comes when the interests of the League are menaced, those supporters will rise as one man to protect and assist the League of Nations, and to bring the necessary pressure to bear upon whatever Government is in office at that time.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this Society has already endeavoured to

form a *liaison* with similar associations in America, France, Italy, Serbia, and in many other countries in the world. In all those countries similar organizations exist for this very purpose. We think it would be of inestimable value if a similar voluntary organization also existed in the Dominions and in the Great Empire of India. It is only by bringing home to the Indian people themselves the functions of the League of Nations and its mission in the world, by educating them up to the standards of the League, by informing them of what the League is doing, by focussing public opinion in India and other countries, and by working in the closest co-operation with similar societies in other countries, that we can ensure that the people of India will be on the side of the League. As we have been told by the Lecturer, this is a critical time in the history of his country. This is a time when new forces are beginning to work, when strong inducements will be held out to ignore the ideals of the League and to embark on Chauvinistic and other campaigns.

Mr Gauba mentioned the example of Japan. It appears to me that Japan and the other countries which are situated in very much the same position as India are at the parting of the ways. They can either go the way of the League of Nations or embark upon an Imperialistic policy which will take them in an opposite direction. Therefore I would ask whether it may not be possible for your Association to co-operate with the League of Nations Union, or any other Society, to assist in the establishment of a voluntary organization in India to work for the principles of the League, and to educate and mould public opinion in favour of the Covenant, with all its provisions and principles. Such an organization would strengthen the bonds which already bind the people of this country to the people of India, and would place the League of Nations on a much firmer and much more lasting foundation than it has hitherto been able to secure. I feel sure, if some action of that sort could be inaugurated, that Mr Gauba would be well requited for all the trouble he has taken in elaborating the very excellent paper which he has read to us this afternoon. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

General CHEREP SPIRIDOVITCH said that in 1913, in his book, "*Vers la Débâcle*," he had foretold the Great War in all its details, and after that he began to think how it could be avoided. He wrote another book entitled "*L'Union des Blancs*," which means "The Union or League of the White Races," and had it sent to *all* the Senators, Deputies, and editors in France. People would not believe him when he told them that war was *imminent*. In November he sent some scores of telegrams to statesmen and editors in this country, pointing out again that war was *imminent*, unless Austria would grant independence to Poland, Bohemia, Croatia, and Hungary, and receive in compensation some of those billions which would be uselessly spent in this war.

Lord Roberts was the only person among the many great people in this country who answered that he believed the General's statements.

With reference to the Lecturer's statement regarding the number of native princes who should be represented in the League, the General thought they would be better engaged in playing football, because the



League is only a "Rotten Parapet" (the *Morning Post*), and it "would not become effective before five years," as its great enthusiast, M. Albert Thomas—ex Minister of France—has confessed

But, in the General's opinion, the League would not be effective for fifty years. And England's foes would not wait, maybe, even five months.

To create at once an effective bulwark against war, a union between English speaking, Latin, and Slav nations is indispensable, and such combination was also the ideal of his old friends—Clemenceau and Theodore Roosevelt.

The actual League of Nations was to be transferred to Geneva, where only, say, 50 clerks—all C3 men—would be sent from this country, and not a single A1 Englishman among them. From the General's own knowledge and experience, it would not be very long before those entirely inexperienced individuals found themselves surrounded by, say, 5,000 anti-British agents.

The League of Nations would undoubtedly be a wonderful thing if only people would know the truth about those mysterious forces which really rule the world, and in whose hands nearly all the Prime Ministers are mere puppets.

The League would be a great ideal organization if only it resulted in the secret diplomacy of those so-called "titanic forces" being revealed (Hear, hear).

The lecturer had said that Germany would be strong again in fifty years. In the General's opinion she would be strong again in a very short time, and she is much stronger as a Power at the present moment than many people suspect, because she can find in Russia innumerable soldiers and unlimited resources. Because of those titanic forces, Germany is able at any moment to recall, or beat, her own Bolsheviks in Russia—a "black" or "red" alliance.

The lecturer suggested that Germany should be invited into the League of Nations, but she may say that she had no wish to enter the League of Nations, and Russia, because the Allies did not help her, may also refuse that offer—to become a member of the League.

And supposing that Germany responded to this call, she would at once, thanks to the above mentioned titanic forces, play the first violin and soon become the conductor of the League. The League, as it at present exists, really consists of England *isolated*, with perhaps some few small and insignificant Powers counterbalancing each other, because France—it seemed to the General—may be paralyzed by Italy, who cannot forget her lost jewels (Nice, Savoy, Corsica), if relations are not improved between them by the pre-war Anglo-Latino Slav League, which has transferred its headquarters to London, the world's Metropolis, and is reopening its pre-war branches—fifty in Euro-Asia—and creating fifty new branches in the three Americas, in order to prevent a renewed attempt of "Deutschland uber Alles."

With regard to Japan, it was obvious that a great Power was being created by her constant increasing of armament and by a union of Japan and China, which might result in great danger to England, France, and Russia.

The Japanese yoke is very drastic—as was proved in Korea. God save India from it!

The Japanese were already entering Siberia and may propose to China the south of all Asia and even a new invasion into Europe, as was done in 1224 by a Mongolian conqueror, Baty, who plundered Russia, Austria and Hungary, but was completely crushed by the Croats—in 1241 at Fiume.

No one seemed to realize that Europe, and first of all Italy, had been saved in Fiume and by Croatsians

The lecturer has mentioned the statements of that great Russian genius Tolstoy, but he did not mention another still greater philosopher and thinker, F Dostoyevsky, who had prophesied "The Jews will be the death of Russia"—and they have destroyed this greatest of Empires

Now, since Mr Israel Zangwill has confessed that "the League of Nations is a mission of the Jews," one may be sure that the British Empire would also be ruined by them in order to make for an "Israel above All."

May God preserve India from this reign of unspeakable horror and ruin which the Jews have established in Russia, unparalleled in history!

MR I N THAKOR said that the lecturer seemed to be very enthusiastic about the League of Nations, but he had probably not heard Bernard Shaw's description of it. Many people were distrustful of it. The weakest point in the organization of the League of Nations was the non-recognition of the principle of self determination. On the one side you had an organization working for the peace of the world on the professed line of self-determination, and on the other side you had the mandated areas, which was a new word for subjected areas. If the League was to work on the principle of self determination, the best way to deal with those mandated countries would be to allow them to determine for themselves their destinies. The Chairman referred to Mr. Montagu's scheme as a very successful first step. He ventured to disagree, so far as he saw it was a total failure, and under the new circumstances arising—Rowlatt Act, Amritsar atrocities, and the question of Constantinople—he felt it would fail altogether. In regard to the step to take mandated India up to self-government, if India took a different view from England on the score of its inadequacy, where was the machinery to settle this difference? If countries differed, the best way was to bring in a disinterested third party, and not to decide by voters among whom there were interested voters. The League of Nations had not provided for that disinterested machinery. In regard to the representation given to the different countries, he wished to raise a strong protest in opposition to the lecturer's remarks about the recognition granted to the native rajahs. In 1857 they perpetrated brutalities, and even to-day, with the exception of the Gaekwar of Baroda, they were callous to the interests of their people and repressive. He thought they did not deserve to be rewarded with a vote in the face of such a record, but their subjects did. To give them separate representation was to raise a suspicion in the minds of Nationalist India to the effect that an Ulster was being raised in India, and that the British Government was using the rajahs against the rising Indian democracy.

His time being up, the speaker's remarks were closed prematurely

MISS WILEMAN said they had all listened with great interest to the remarks of the Chairman and to the paper read by the lecturer. What struck one most was that at the heart and core and root of the League of Nations was a growing unity and opinion of enlightened democracy that the quarrels and contentions, the acrimony and dissension of the Old World, must pass away and in the New World which was now seeing light, differences could no longer be settled by the old barbarous, devastating and ruinous methods of the sword, gunpowder, machine guns, aeroplane, tank, and submarine. When they appealed to the people of Britain—labour, capital, consumers, Government and other interests—to meet round a common board to discuss with unimpassioned fairness and a strong desire for the good of the community as a whole those great problems of industrial and commercial conditions—when they found that such a state of affairs was not only coming into being but was really giving birth to good results could not they go a step further and ask that the nations of the world, the small as well as the large, coloured as well as white, should join around a larger and more international board in dealing with the great and vexed problems in a fair, impartial, just and humane spirit? In her opinion the growth and fostering of that principle, whether one be Tory, Bernard Shawite or Indian Nationalist, must be the force which moved one in hoping and yearning that the old bad days were a thing of the past, and that out of that terrible five years of war one might see the dawn of a new day, new emotions, new ideals and new standards of conduct which should reign satisfactorily over the world which was now before them. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

LADY KATHARINE STUART, in thanking the lecturer for his excellent paper, said she would like to take the opportunity of delivering a message from Dr. Pollen, in which he stated he was shortly coming over to England, and had asked her to say a few words with regard to the subject of the lecture. He wished her to point out how almost preposterous it was to hope that the League would be really satisfactory until the peoples of the various nations could be placed in a position to understand one another readily, and to that end they should have an international language, easily understood by all and he therefore asked her to try and enlist their sympathies in favour of Esperanto. She believed there was a wonderful future before the Esperanto movement. French was the language of diplomacy, but French could never be the language of all the peoples of the world. If people would give some little attention to the Esperanto movement, they would find there was a great deal more in it than they had hitherto supposed. By means of Esperanto men could get into touch with men, and Government with Government, and they could all help by taking an interest in the subject. It could be used as a vehicle for spreading a knowledge of religion amongst the different peoples of the world, and if they believed in the efficacy of the Gospel to save the world, they ought to take the most speedy and most thorough method of getting it known throughout Asia as well as throughout Europe. (Hear, hear.)

(Some exception having been taken to the foregoing remarks, it is here

suggested that Christian perfection surely requires a consensus of the councils and services of "all nations." If we are really to "make disciples" of all nations, and they are to do service, they need a vehicle in which to express their corporate consciousness, therefore it is surely just, reasonable, and right that there should be in use a general and international language which was not the native tongue of any particular nation. In no other way could you attain to the perfection of fair play all round. Esperanto is in all respects "a good and perfect gift." It has been well called "the Latin of the democracy," because by its help Government can get into touch with Government and people with people all the world over. It is the perfect elimination of all self-interest from the "counsels of the saints"—K F S)

Mr DUNCAN IRVINE said that he would like to propose a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer for what they had said and done for them that afternoon (Hear, hear and applause)

Colone' TERRY seconded the proposition, which was carried with acclamation

The LECTURER, in reply, said there were just one or two matters he would like to clear up. First of all was the question of the representation of the Native States, which had evidently created some sensation. One gentleman said the rajahs ought to be left alone to play football, and another said they had been guilty of oppression and therefore did not deserve representation. He would point out that the Native States in India constituted about one third of the country, and they surely could not omit those people from a voice in the League. The feeling of democracy had spread amongst those people, and they surely could not keep out the Native States. The point was to give them some sort of representation now.

With regard to the question of self-determination, the League at the outset did not desire to encroach upon what was known as the "sovereign right of states," nor did it desire to encroach upon what was considered to be their own internal affairs, but the League was a beginning, and impatience must be surely deplorable. However, under Article 11, all questions, internal and otherwise, were declared to be a matter of concern for the League. There lay the hope of subject peoples. Even if it eventually resulted in republics, the principle of self-determination would before long be applied to all subject peoples. That was the only solution.

Then, with regard to Constantinople, that was a question which revealed to some extent the awakening interest of the people of India in foreign affairs. For the first time in the history of modern India the people had exerted an influence in international politics in regard to Constantinople. Although personally he differed as to the future of Constantinople, he was, nevertheless, very pleased to see the people of India exert such an influence, and exert it successfully. The success of the League of Nations undoubtedly depended to a great extent upon individual effort, and it was for each of them to go forth into the world as apostles of the new creed and to preach the gospel of the League of Nations. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN suitably replied to the vote of thanks, and the proceedings then terminated.

## TAMIL PROVERBS: A KEY TO THE LANGUAGE AND TO THE MIND OF THE PEOPLE

BY SYDNEY GORDON ROBERTS, I.C.S. (RETD.)

THE most famous composer, compiler, and comparer of proverbs, King Solomon, has given, as the objects of those which he collected :

“To know wisdom and instruction ; to perceive the words of understanding ; to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgment, and equity ; to give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion.”

Those who have a less high opinion of the value of the proverb may, perhaps unconsciously, be of the party of that distinguished wit the famous Lord Chesterfield, who held that a proverb should never be uttered in the conversation of a gentleman, as being, I suppose, a mark of rusticity.

We in India, at any rate, the strangers that sojourn in the land, cannot afford to be so squeamish, and we should do wisely to take the view of the King rather than that of the courtier. Solomon's proverbs are recorded as being 3,000 in number. The largest printed collection of Tamil proverbs extant when I left India, in November, 1918, gave 9,417 (nine thousand four hundred and seventeen) ; and the learned compiler of that “Dictionary of Tamil Proverbs,” the Rev. Doctor John Lazarus, informed me once that he had got 2,000 or so more ready to be published in a second edition. The Rev. P. Percival, in the second edition of “Tamil Proverbs with English Translations,” gives 6,156, and the late Reverend Herman Jensen, of the Danish Mission, gives only 3,644 (three thousand six

hundred and forty-four), but his edition has invaluable cross-references, and the "Index of the First Word of Each Proverb" is followed by "An Index of Non-Initial Words from the Body of the Proverb." These indexes and the classification, in a preliminary index, of the Tamil proverbs under 350 English headings, give Jensen's "Classified Collection of Tamil Proverbs," published in 1897, a peculiar value and interest. At the same time Lazarus's "Dictionary" has the charm of copiousness, and gives numerous variants and doublets, among which the student has the pleasure of choosing the one which his knowledge of the Tamil language and the Tamil country leads him to think must be the oldest or the most generally acceptable form.

The mention of the Tamil country reminds me that the extent of it cannot be better defined than by a Tamil saying. The country lies, I may say, in the Southern half of the Madras Presidency of India, and in nine words :

"Kudakam kunaga kadal kumari tiruvēngadam, Innāngu Tamizh nāttin ellai."

(That is, "Coorg, the Bay of Bengal, Cape Comorin and Tirupati, these four [are] the bounds of the Tamil country.")

To many of my audience these are the first words of the Tamil language that have fallen on their ears; to others they awake memories grave and gay. In my own opinion, though the word "Tamil" means "sweet," that is the only complimentary epithet that cannot be applied to the language; it is rich, copious, and extraordinarily exact and flexible.

I do not pretend it is so copious as Chinese or Arabic. I am sincerely grateful that is not the case; although one arises from a study of the Tamil dictionary with the impression that, in the poetical form of the language, no self-respecting Tamil noun fails to signify, according to the context, "a beautiful woman; a peacock; a particular preparation of arsenic."

Before leaving the subject of the relative value of these

collections of Tamil proverbs I think it is only fair to say that I believe Percival was first in the field ; his collection is beautifully printed and most wisely annotated. Both his introduction and that of Jensen show clearly how an intimate knowledge of the Tamil mind, such as is obtainable by the study of the Tamil proverbs, had produced, in the Englishman as well as in the Dane, a sincere regard, affection, and respect for the Tamil people ; and that is, I firmly believe, the invariable result of studying these wonderfully diversified gems and jewels from the wisdom of the East.

It is for this reason that I think it is the positive duty of those who have to do, or will have to do, with Tamil people to study Tamil proverbs. The very first introduction to them can be obtained from that charming little Tamil manual, "Ingē Vā" (*i.e.*, "Come here"), a splendid guide to planting conversation that is published at the *Times of Ceylon* Press, at Colombo.

My kind friend Mr. J. Leybourne Davidson first gave me a copy in 1900, and I learned by the copy of (I think) the fourteenth edition, which I bought in 1918, how much this manual had been extended and improved since it first came out.

I do not propose in this paper to give anything like a large number of examples of Tamil proverbs ; it is easier to be exhausting than exhaustive. At the same time, one's own little discoveries possess a keener interest than the beaten country ; and what I have observed, or think I have observed, or at least recorded, for the first time may perhaps have a greater claim on the indulgent audience before me than a repetition of what other people have set down. I propose, therefore, to include some of my own treasure-trove in the specimens of Tamil proverbs given in this paper, as well as some of the most delightfully typical of those in the printed collections.

I cannot claim to have recorded 3,000 proverbs ; but, then, in wisdom I do not attempt to compete with King

Solomon ! I will only say that for some years I have held that one of the reasons why Solomon is regarded as one of the wisest men who ever lived was because he had studied proverbs so much, in which the wisdom of the East lies stored in quintessence.

My own private collection of Tamil proverbs amounts to only 367 (three hundred and sixty-seven), "be the same a little more or less," as lawyers put it in documents ; but anyone who has gone proverb-hunting, or who will go proverb-hunting in the future, knows, or will soon learn, how hard it is to flush the game when found, and will also be reminded continually of Captain Cuttle's saying, "The bearing of which obseruation lies in the application of it."

It is in the explanation of the use and bearing and "true inwardness" of Tamil proverbs that the encyclopædic Dr. John Lazarus, whose "Dictionary" has a preface which forms a wonderful treatise on the subject, is so very unsafe as a guide. Here is a man born in the country ; of unwearied patience and application, which will be acknowledged by all who have occasion to roam and root about in the comfortable truffle-forest which his "Dictionary of Tamil Proverbs" displays ; yet the innate difficulty of the subject is such that even Dr. Lazarus has not really seized the meaning of the proverb in hundreds and hundreds of cases.

The fact is, one may go for months before one gets to the bottom of some of these proverbs ; Tamil people use them, but in ninety cases out of a hundred they cannot explain them. Anything like philological or etymological research or enquiry is a mere weariness to the flesh to the bulk of the people one comes across in ordinary circumstances ; and, moreover, they do not know the limits of their questioner's knowledge, and so leave unexplained the very points which would clear up the whole matter.

The very last of my discoveries in the way of Tamil proverbs at least emphasizes the fact that all Indians are not necessarily vegetarians. Up in Bengal the earnest



Bible woman, explaining the story of the Prodigal Son, may have to turn the fatted calf into "five different kinds of curry"; but in Southern India there are millions of people who eat meat and fish. What gusto and enjoyment of good things there is in the proverb

"Sell your house and buy a shad !  
Sell your cow and buy a mullet !"

(" Vittai vittru ullam vāngukirathu  
Māttai vittru madavai vāngukirathu.")

I first heard this at Cuddalore, South Arcot, from District Court Translator N. Jeyarama Chetti-yar, who was explaining to Dr. Whitehead, the Bishop of Madras, all about the two images of a fish with gaping mouth, bearing Madura Minākshi with her consort, in the Madurai Minākshi temple on the sea-shore close to Fort St. David. These fish are the *ullam* which my lamented friend Henry Wilson, Conservator of Fisheries, told me, in 1912 or so, he had conclusively proved to be the same as the American shad, whose very name, *Alosa sapidissima*, "the most tasty Alosa," has an echo of the triumphant appreciation of the Tamil proverb. The Bishop was inclined to believe that the great Minākshi, or "Fish-eyed Lady," the goddess of Madura, is really a prehistoric fish-goddess, dating back to the time when the Vaigai bar was open and Vaigai, on the Madura coast, was the Pandyan king's trading emporium at the river mouth. The translator, a Madura man, laid great stress on the deliciousness of the *ullam*, as shown by the proverb; also that it was anadromous in its habits, and was only stopped by anicuts (that is dams) and other barriers, below which it grows most fat and delicious. I learned from him afterwards that its *sinai*, or roe (which he says is double), is the great delicacy. I now learn that precisely the same is true of the shad. All this confirms the identity of the shad with the *ullam*, and Henry Wilson, by elaborate arrangements, was able to prove that, just as the shad has

been transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, so the *ullam* can be introduced into the Indian western sea, which we call the Arabian Sea, from the eastern sea, which is the Bay of Bengal. Thus the *ullam* and Minākshi of Madura, of remote antiquity, are connected with the gallant Henry Wilson, who died of cholera, most sincerely mourned, in 1916 or 1917, after a life spent in preserving and increasing the food-supply of all the poor people of Southern India.

This is not the only proverb about fishing.

"Tundilkāranukku takkaḷ mēḷ kan."

("The angler's eye is on his float")

That is, "Everyone is most interested in his own affairs," or, as Dessauer told Fanny Kemble, about the time when the first railway was opened, "Je m'intéresse extrêmement aux choses qui me regardent," one of the neatest defences of egoism with which I am acquainted.

It is these brief little proverbs which are the most charming and the easiest to remember. I am particularly fond of:

"Pālukkum kāval pūṇaikkum tōzhan"

("Guard over the milk, but also a friend of the cat's"),

which signifies, of course, hunting with the hounds and running with the hare. This particular proverb illustrates very well how proverbs help one to a true pronunciation of Tamil and a proper rhythm in speaking. They enable one in a simple expeditious way to learn to keep one's footing on the swaying slack-wire of an ordinary Tamil sentence. Tamil can afford so many words which have an absolute perspective, like the German word described—and illustrated—in Mark Twain's "Tramp Abroad," that it is extremely hard for a beginner not to trip up and crash down into meaningless syllables, just when a change in the Indian hearer's expression is giving the speaker strong hopes that the man is getting a glimmering of an idea of

what is meant. Not a very clear idea, perhaps, but like the

“Something distinctly resembling a tune”

of the Scotch piper in the “Bab Ballads,”

“Pālukkum kāval pūnaikkum tōzhan.”

You can hear the rise and fall of the scansion ; it can easily be demonstrated on a blackboard ; and with the help of a few hundred of such proverbs one could train the learner's ear and tongue until even the railway-station name Perumānāyakanpālaiyam does not strike terror to him in the way it has petrified hundreds of English travellers on their journey to a holiday on the Nilgiri Hills. Many Tamil proverbs refer to, or are explained by, ancient folk-stories. Many years ago, when I was visiting Arcot, where Clive's sepoys offered to live on the rice-gruel, giving the English soldiers the boiled rice (do you know, by the way, how that was possible ?) I made the acquaintance of Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastriar. He said to me, “You talk Tamil pretty well, but if you really want to master colloquial Tamil, you ought, ‘though I says it as shouldn't,’ to read my collection of folk-stories, ‘Pūrva Kāla Kadaigal’—*i.e.*, ‘Tales of Ancient Days.’” I took his advice and benefited by it very greatly ; and from it I learned such sayings as

“Dīpam Lakṣmīkaram”

(“The lamp is the hand of Good Luck”),

and

“Chokkā, chokkā, sōr 'undō?

Choriyān vanthu keduttandō”

(“Chokkā, Chokkā, is there any rice?

The Choriyān came and spoilt it, lad”),

with the stories which illustrate and explain these and similar proverbs, the two I have mentioned emphasizing the benefit and necessity of having a light burning at night, especially at mealtime, else devils will come and snatch away the food.

One very impressive story explains the saying :

" Pichaikkāranukku vaittu vai."

(" Put it by for the beggar.")

When little Tamil children enjoy something very much at supper and want their mother to keep some over for breakfast, they are not allowed to say, " Put it by for me," but, " Put it by for the beggar ;" and the story tells how a rich man was preparing, just as in the parable, to pull down his barns and build greater, when Death laughed aloud and appeared in the form of a serpent to end his life, after telling him that we receive each day's existence from God as a beggar receives alms. And so from this *uir-pichchai*, " the Alms of Life," comes the use of " pichchaikāran " in the proverbial saying.

I am also very fond of a proverb which I found in Jensen. It is another way of saying that everyone has his own point of view :

" Kūttādi kizhakkē parttān  
Kūlikkāran merkkē parttān."

(" The actor watched the East ;  
The day-labourer watched the West.")

Indian plays go on all night, so that the European spectator generally has to go off to bed, more than half dead, just as they are getting to the exciting climax of the play. For this reason the Indian actor watches the East, to see when the sun is going to rise and let him go home, whereas the day-labourer watches for sunset, so that he may stop work, get his pay, buy his provisions, and cook his supper.

This proverb introduces us to our indispensable, but somewhat trying, friend the cooly, or, to give him his full name, the *kūliyāl*, or *kūlikkāran*. If one alters the words, " The hireling fleeth because he is an hireling," into, " The cooly fleeth because he is a cooly," one gets the full meaning of the English, and discovers that in India, from the most ancient times, the faults of the hireling, or cooly,

were just as much evident as in Palestine of old, and in some nearer countries at a less distant date. I may mention that "kūli" means "hire," so "kūlikkāran" means "he who works for hire," just as "pichchaikāran," in the proverb already quoted, means, "he who receives alms." I suppose "kāṛ" is the same root as the old Scotch word "gar," "to make," "to do"; but I have not had an opportunity of verifying this.

In Madura I came across a remarkable proverb—

"Stūpiyilunthū kuthikkirēn endru shonnavan tūṅṅi pōnanām  
Vazhiyil pogira pārppān pārttu vandikkattī kondanām "

("The man who said, 'I will leap from the pinnacle,' fell asleep, they say,

"The wayfaring parson, seeing it, yoked up his cart [bulls], they say.")

It appears that in ancient days, when there was danger of a temple being looted, one of the priests would climb the gōpūram, or temple tower, and threaten to throw himself down and be killed, so that the guilt of his death might attach to the robbers. The mere threat was generally sufficient. But there is a legend that at the temple (which I have visited several times) at Tiruparankundram, two and a half miles W.S.-W. of Madura, an English force arrived, more than a century ago, and were about to desecrate the temple in spite of the remonstrances of the priests. Thereupon a man did cast himself from the lofty wedge-shaped gōpūram, or temple tower, and was killed. The English (so the legend goes), realizing what a spirit of fanaticism would be aroused, stayed their hand. The rock beneath which this temple stands and the gōpūram in question are illustrated in the South Indian Railway guide-book.

In the actual proverb there is a reference to a story of a man who offered to take the leap somewhere, but his heart failed him, and he pretended to fall asleep; whereupon the priest thought it high time to pack up. And some people say that the priest was afraid the guilt of homicide would fall on him, so he selfishly went off instead of going to try

and take the sleeper down. However that may be, the proverb exemplifies a grammatical point of the highest importance in Tamil, viz., the possession of a relative form of the verb, which takes a little time to master, but, once learnt, is a great help in composition and conversation. There are also verbal nouns which have a singular and plural and have masculine, feminine and neuter forms. Here we have the simplest relative verb form "pōgira," "who is going," a neat abbreviation for "pōy-kkond-iruntha," "who was going." I only mention this in passing, and add that "of the people who were not beaten" can be conveniently—if not briefly!—expressed in Tamil by the polysyllable "adikkapadāthavargaludaiya," which may be rendered "which belongs to them that did not suffer beating." Another word we meet in this proverb is "pārppān," literally "seer" but a colloquial and not very respectful name for "Brahmin," rather like the English use of "parson." But the feminine form of the word is the delightful Tamil word for "butterfly," which is called a *pārpārtti* on account of the gay silk dresses Brahmin ladies wear.

A very common proverb is :

"Kūzhukku māngāy tōrkkumā."

("Will the mango yield to the gruel?")

It does not seem so very long ago since I had the honour of serving under our Honorary Secretary as his Sub-Collector and Joint Magistrate, at Vellore in North Arcot district, and he knows as much about "kūzh," or ragi gruel, as I do, probably even more. But for those who do not know the Tamil country, of which North Arcot forms the extreme northern end, I should explain that this ragi gruel plays a most important part in the domestic economy of the ordinary villagers. It is made of ragi flour boiled with water into a thick paste and kept until it ferments and has an acid taste. It is only ready for eating eighteen to twenty hours after it is made. Although not agreeable to

our taste, it is a splendid food, especially valuable as it can be given, in small quantities, to people who are more than half-starved without risk of making them ill, and it is therefore one of the staple foods prepared in the kitchens of famine camps. When people can afford it they add "noy," or broken rice, to the "kūzhu," and this is the case round the splendid Dūsi-Māmandūr tank (or reservoir) near Conjeeveram, which is a proof of a higher standard of living in those parts. The proverb shows that it would be absurd for the humble gruel to place itself on the level of the mango pickle on account of their common acidity, and it may refer also to the fact that mango pickle is a luxury of the well-to-do, whereas the gruel is the staple of the common labouring classes.

It is time, however, to strike a higher note. I think the following proverb is as fine an acknowledgment of Providence as I have ever met, in a rather quaint form :

"Kallukkul tēraiyaī kāppātravillaiyā."

("Did He not preserve the toad within the rock?")

One has only to be among the Tamil people at a time of undeserved misfortune to see what uncomplaining faith and trust really are. Such calamities as a fire that has burnt down half a village, or a flood that has burst the reservoir on which their crops depend, constantly reveal the fine qualities of heart and mind which crystallize into their best proverbs. Of course there is plenty of rustic sarcasm. When the Tamil wishes to say that all men are liars, he observes :

"Kurang 'ellām oru muham."

("All monkeys have one face.")

But against this we may fairly set the delicious proverb, familiar to all students of Ingē Vā, that is, to a vast majority of planters in Ceylon and the Malay States :

"Kurangukkum tan kutti pon kutti."

("Even to the monkey its own baby is a golden baby.")

The monkey figures pretty often in the Tamil proverbs, as it does in the high Tamil version of the immortal Panchatantra, the original (I believe) of Pilpay's Fables.

For instance :

"Sēniyanukku yēn kurangu."

("Why should a weaver keep a monkey?")

It would only damage his work.

Another proverb, on compulsion, lets us into some of the secrets of animal training in its simplest form :

"Tadi āda kurangu ādum."

("As the stick dances the monkey will dance.")

The dog does not always come out well in Indian proverbs. His value as a sentinel is well recognized, and he is extremely well treated by shepherds, but in the generality of cases the dog appears as a yelping cur, bringing annoyance, defilement, and even a sign of death wherever he goes.

The dog enters so much, and so differently, into English life and thought that to recapitulate a few Tamil proverbs illustrates very remarkably the difference between the villagers' point of view and ours, though they recognize, as another proverb shows, the difference between the squire's dog and their own.

Our first one is the most common :

"Nāyai kkandāl kallai kkānōm

Kallai kkandāl nāyai kkānōm."

"If we see a dog we can't see a stone,

And if we see a stone we can't see a dog.")

One never finds things when one wants them is the meaning of the proverb ; because in India one stoops down to pick up a stone to drive a dog away, and the mere act of stooping is often sufficient.

But here is a more kindly proverb, about fussy people :

"Nāyku vēlaiyum illai

Nirkkiratharku nēramum illai."

("The dog has no work [to do] and no time to stop.")



I think that shows a very nice observation. So does the next one :

“Nāyai valarttu naragalum varuvanēn?”

(“When I keep a dog why should I come crawling myself?”)

This strikes me as even better than our version, “keeping a dog and barking oneself.” This proverb is also an illustration of a most important idiom, the way we express “Why should I?” “Why should he?” and so on, in Tamil. The particle “yēn” (-“why”) is added to the third person masculine future of a verb, and according to the pronoun employed one knows whether it is “Why should I?” or “Why should she?” and so forth. The origin of the idiom puzzles me, because the verb is, invariably, the third person masculine future, whatever the pronoun. But though I never understood the origin of the form, I have found it quite indispensable to idiomatic conversation. If one really is to talk Tamil, one cannot afford to be without it.

The next three proverbs—all about dogs—illustrate splendidly the proper way to vary the position of the interrogative -ā in the sentence according to the exact shade of meaning. It underlines that particular word.

For instance :

“Nāyadiitta duttu kulaichchā kanpikkirathu.”

(“Ought you to *bark* as you show your penny-fee for dog-killing?”)

“Nāyā singattirku narpattam kattukirathu.”

(“Is a *dog* to tie a decoration on the lion?”)

“Nāyā āgumā kokkai pidikka.”

(“Will a *dog* succeed in catching paddy-birds?”)

It is the ability to place the interrogative particle idiomatically that makes the difference between proficiency and hesitation in Tamil speaking. Yet it can be learned with absolute precision from Tamil proverbs, and with the same unfailing memory which, when I suddenly observe,

“Common are to either sex,”

spurs on most of the men in my audience to reply

"*Artifex and opifex.*"

The Tamil proverbs offer as complete a key, and one as easily learned, to all possible forms of Tamil prose syntax as is provided by the illustrations to the syntax in the dear old Latin primer. Moreover, they are so neat, compact, and pithy, that they can be driven into the mind as immovably as the jingling rhymes, in the same book, fix the masculines and feminines in the youthful memory.

I believe that this discovery of the use of Tamil proverbs as a key to the language and its pronunciation is absolutely and entirely my own. I think this is an appropriate place in my paper to make the claim, and I do so very deliberately, with a comfortable feeling that, so far as the Tamil language is concerned, no one is very likely to challenge my priority. It is true that I only began to study Tamil proverbs on Monday, October 15, 1906, when I had only twelve more years to serve; and that six of those years were spent out of the Tamil country; but my interest in the subject has grown steadily, and as I ended my service as Judge of a Tamil district I was able to extend my vocabulary very considerably, and to quicken my powers of comparing and working up the few materials that I had gathered myself, and the vast stores that Percival, Jensen, and Lazarus had laid up for me and for anyone else who likes to wander over the same province of study.

As there may be language students among my audience, or among those who may have the courage to read this paper in print, I will let them into a secret. There are few more engrossing hobbies than collating, cross-referencing, and writing up notes in books, in their margin, and, when that shows signs of repletion, in pages that have been interleaved for one's special delectation. There is only one danger. One is extremely likely to develop hypertrophy of the grammatical sense. You remember how one's schoolmasters used to flinch and wince, and even groan, at

some particularly flagrant "howler"? I used to think (Heaven forgive me!) that this was mere affectation, intended to impress the scholar with the vastness of the master's learning. Alas, it is nothing of the sort! If one only works hard enough at a language, even such a refractory one as Tamil, there comes a time when one begins to begin to know something about it; and then hypertrophy of the grammatical sense is the agonizing ailment which is almost certain to attack you; and it requires all one's sense of humour to overcome it.

It is refreshing to find that among these proverbs are many which show that the Tamils and ourselves have many things in common. I had not been very long in India before I found that toys and games had their fixed seasons just as in England. I don't know any Tamil equivalent of "Tops is in, marbles is out," but the top-season, the marble-season, and the kite-season—varying, no doubt, as regards kites with different parts of the country—are much more distinct than the difference between spring and summer. In fact, I had been eight years in India before I recognized that there was such a season as spring; but then the Madras Presidency, or at any rate, the Tamil country, does not mark the springtime very clearly. As we find in the proverbs whatever is in the life of the people, there are plenty of good proverbs about tops. Here are a few.

"Vallavan āttina pambaram manalilum ādum."

("A top spun by a clever man will spin even in sand.")

"Kairu illātha pambaram"

("A top without a string"),

*i.e.*, as Jensen explains it, "A master is necessary everywhere."

"Uzhuvukku oru suttrum varāthu, unnukku pambaram."

("At ploughing he won't plough a furrow, but for food he's a top.")

The Indian rice fields are subdivided to facilitate flooding, so a round, "suttru," may be rendered "furrow."

"Ādi ōyintha pambaram."

(" A top that has done spinning ")

Said of one who has been humbled.

My favourite top proverb is :

"Manmatan avanai pambarampōl āttukirān "

(" Cupid spins him like a top ")

You remember, in Tennyson's " Palace of Art "

" And over hills with peaky tops engrailed,  
'Twixt fields of corn and rice,  
The throne of Indian Cama slowly sailed  
A summer fanned with spice "

Manmatan and Cupid and Cāma are one and the same Of course, being an Indian, Cāma is a married man, with a wife, Rati, and a father-in-law, the great god Siva ; and the legend forms the subject of an annual festival, which I have tried to describe in the *Calcutta Review* in 1902 or 1903, in "The Cāma Mystery Play: a Study in Comparative Dramatics." But we must leave Cupid and his bow of sugar-cane and his seven reed arrows, each tipped with a different flower, and his bowstring of bees—I prefer that idea to the swallow's chirp which the bowstring suggested to the Greeks—and return to humbler themes.

It is the everyday life that is so hard for a foreigner to learn—the little words, the little household customs and sayings ; and it is precisely these which he will meet with in these proverbs. And if he learns a little, and uses that little, then he can learn a little for himself ; for in India, if one is out fishing for information, you must bait the hook with a little knowledge. Then people realize you are a learner, not a scoffer, and will take a pride and a pleasure in explaining their manners and customs.

So here is a household saying :

"Yēdikūdam pēcināl agappai sūniyam vauppēn."

(" If you speak haughtily I'll put a spell on the ladle.")

That is to say, "You shan't have any food"! This is said to children, servants, or daughters-in-law; the last-named have had a doleful time of it since India was India, and when that alters, India will be changed indeed, and changed immeasurably for the better.

When people think that anything requires no further proof, they say ·

"Kannārak kandatarku yēn agappai kuri."

("For what one has seen with one's eyes, what needs the mark of the ladle?")

The conclusion is really a perfect little picture: the hut left empty for a short time, some hungry person creeping in and making a scoop at the hot boiled food, rice or cholam, then dropping the prize, all steaming, into the front fold of his or her cloth, and sticking the ladle back in the thatch and going out, leaving the good wife to come and utter a litany of shrieking curses on whoever has done it—a litany so poignant that if the offender is a neighbour the sting of the abuse overcomes the natural desire for concealment, and in she rushes, and there is what may be called "the father and mother of a row." Or the mark of the ladle may betray the work of a child playing in the back garden who has fraudulently anticipated supper-time—

"Agappai kurattāl mattattarku varuvān "

("If you make his ladle smaller, he will come within bounds"),

used of a froward child that needs management.

As the village artisans are very important in country life, we meet them freely in these proverbs. Jensen gives ten about barbers, whose services are constantly needed for mourning, for vows—as in St. Paul's case—and so on, as well as for ordinary occasions. So one proverb says:

"Pudiya vannānum pezhaiya ampattanum tēdu."

("Seek a new washerman and an old barber.")

You may remember that Mark Twain in "More Tramps Abroad" said that India was the only country where he'd

seen a man breaking stones with a shirt. But perhaps you may not know that in this, as in everything else, "it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good," and that the more rags he makes, the better the washerman can carry on his trade of hereditary torch-maker to the little village temple, or even some very important one. The rag-torches, steeped in oil, give a soft orange light, and emit a strong mouse-like smell, which is quite a feature of these beautiful temple processions.

"Vāla jōsiyam, virutta vaidiyam."

("Young astrology, old medicine.")

That is, one should have a young astrologer and an old doctor. The reason is explained in my friend Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri's second book of folk-stories, "*Madiya Kāla Kadaigal*." Astrology depends on mathematical calculations, which the young man will make more correctly than the old.

Another proverb, on the value of experience, is cast in an odd form :

"Kala panattai vida kizha pinam nalladu."

("An old corpse is better than a bushel of money.")

Indians distrust the judgment of young men, which is a remarkable fact when one remembers how quickly people mature in India. When a young fellow airs his opinion they say :

"Muttaiyil kokkirkō kūvum kōzhi "

("A cock that crows in the egg"),

or else :

"Tambi varttai vandiylē vaittu tān izhukka vēndum."

("Younger brother's words must be put on a cart and dragged round the town.")

In this, as in many other proverbs, one detects

"Apt alliteration's artful aid."

To go back to our washerman, a touching proverb tells us that the poor have no time to be ill :

"Vannānukku uōvu vanthāl kallōdō."

("If a washerman falls sick [his sickness must leave him] at his washing-stone.")

Here the final ablative is very neat and subtle.

What people think about little children is a good guide to their character. Judged by this standard the Tamils have a most amiable disposition, as everyone knows who has lived among them. I saw somewhere a proverb which I have never heard used, but which is equal to anything that can be said on the subject. I think it must come out of some poem. I can only quote from memory :

"Pattinidu yāzhinidu enbār  
Pillaigalin konjal kēlor."

("'Sweet is song, sweet the lute,' will they alone say that have not heard the prattle of children.")

So again :

"Kuzhandai pasiyō, kōvil pasiyō."

("Is the infant or the temple [ever] hungry?")

As both are dear to all, neither will ever be in want. Then we have a rhyming proverb, which shows the thought of the Tamils is just like that of the Jews of old. (I have hit upon a rhyming translation which just fits the original.)

"Jānpillai ānālum ānpillai irukka vēndum."

("Though it be but a span-child, it must be a man-child.")

"Illātha vittirukku ilanjiyam."

("A boon to the house that lacks it.")

A mother of only one child will say :

"Tēngāyukku mūndru kan enakku oru kan."

("The cocoanut has three eyes, I have but one.")

And what could be better than the following ?

"Tai muham kāmātha pillaiyum, mazhai muham kāmātha payirum uruppādāthu."

("A child that has not seen its mother's face, and a crop that has not seen the face of rain, will not prosper.")

And then a touch of Eastern hyperbole :

"Pūsanikkāy attanai muttu."

("A pearl as big as a pumpkin.")

Could a child be praised more highly? We can end the subject of children with a rhyming proverb about disobedience.

"Tāy varttai kēlātha pūlai nāy vāyil sūlai "

("A child that will not listen to its mother is like a cloth in a dog's mouth")

—that is, marked out for destruction. We cannot, in the space available, go through the whole moral world, nor even the whole animal kingdom, but the span-child mentioned above reminds me of a super-excellent proverb which I learned from the folk-story of Jagatpurattan, or "Turn-the-world-upside-down"; while the poor dhoby, or washerman, has reminded me of his long-suffering donkey. The first proverb stands quite by itself

"Kosuvum tan kaiyāl ette jān "

("Even the mosquito is just eight of its own spans long")

The meaning is, everyone is of importance in his own eyes. The idea of the span of a mosquito is exquisitely ludicrous, and we find in the proverb a Tamil canon of human symmetry

The donkey has a group of proverbs to himself. Through all he is the homeless, unpitied drudge, very different from his half-brother the mule, whose Tamil name "koveruk-azhudai" means "the donkey the king rides." I shall never forget how crushed I was one day, somewhere near Arcot, when, on asking the innocent question, "What do you give the donkey?" I was answered in an indignant chorus: "We *never* feed donkeys!" I dare say there was a lurking suspicion that my question was sarcastic, as "to graze donkeys" seems to mean, to be sent on a fool's errand, or, at any rate, something like our phrase "to go wool-gathering":



“Kazhudaikku paradēsam kuttisuvar”

(“To go to a ruined wall to graze is a pilgrimage to a donkey”)

“Kazhudaḥ punnukku terupuzhudi marundu”

(“The street dust is medicine for a donkey’s sore”)

In this word “dust,” *puzhudi*, we have a link with our old Norman judicial system the Court of Pie Powder, *pieds poudreux*, held at all our old fairs. Pie Powder in Tamil is “Puzhudi kāl,” or “Dusty Foot,” the name given to a system of rice growing without irrigation

“Kazhudaikku jini kattinālum kuthirai ahuma

(“Even if you put a saddle on an ass, will it turn into a horse?”)

About the horse I will quote only one proverb, which illustrates a point of view that will be new to most people

“Kuthirai gunam arinthu allavu tambirān kombu kodukkavillai”

(“It was because He knew the horse’s disposition, wasn’t it, that God did not give it horns”)

We have the very old proverb, “God sends the shrewd cow short horns,” the word “shrewd” indicating the great age of this saying, but the Tamil form puts the noble animal in quite a new light. Agriculture, and the seasons as affecting it, come into many proverbs. There is a favourite one of mine, which I will give in Lazarus’s version, as the cadence is more pleasing than in the shorter form

“Karttugaikku minjina mazhaiyum illai,  
Karnanukku minjina kodaiyum illai”

(“No rain excels November’s,  
No charity excels King Karnan’s”),

Karnan being one of seven princes noted for their liberality.

As caste governs Hindu life, the references to it in proverbs are innumerable:

“Sanniyasikkum jādi mānam pōgāthu.”

(“Even an ascetic will not lose pride in his caste.”)

You must remember that the "sanniyāsi" has renounced all worldly cares and trammels, and yet the proverb teaches us that he, too, never forgets his caste. The underlying thought in this proverb is profoundly true even to this day, and it has a very important bearing on many questions—burning questions, volcanic questions even—of modern South Indian politics. As the word "pariah" for a non-caste Hindu is a Tamil one, and merely means "the man who beats the big drum," we have many proverbs about him, kindly or unkindly, but generally showing great understanding and observation.

"Parabuddi arābuddi."

("Pariah's wisdom half wisdom")

"Parai pongal ittāl bhagavānukku erādū."

("If a pariah make a boiled offering, will it not ascend to God?")

South India is the country for boiled offerings, a variety of sacrifice that most people have forgotten, though we seem to see a trace of it in the story of Hophni and Phineas, the two sons of Eli.

The pariahs have always made brave soldiers, and there is a proverb (I cannot remember the Tamil at the moment) which has an ever-fresh significance—"Many a soldier who conquered in battle lies rotting in a parcherry," or pariah village; which reminds one of the two lines

"When the war is over and wrongs are righted,  
God is forgot and the soldier slighted"

A very curious fact is that the pariahs, who speak only Tamil, are not a Tamil race, but an earlier one. In the villages, if you want to know if a man is a caste man, you ask, "Tamizhan tānā?" ("Is he a Tamil?") And, if he is not, the answer is, "Alla, Paraiyan tān" ("No, he's a pariah"). I mentioned this to the people who are preparing the new great Tamil dictionary, a combination of Winslowe's work with Dr. Pope's additions, to which I have

been able to contribute a good many hundred words and phrases, a few picked up in Madura but most in South Arcot, where the remote Kallakurichi taluk is a mine of pure, living, colloquial Tamil. It so happened that the Dictionary Committee had forgotten this distinction between Tamils and pariahs, and discussion of it brought out the distinction between Tamils and Brahmins, which is shown by the phrase :

“Tamizh vazhakkāchāram āriya vazhakkāchāram.”

(“Tamil customary law and Brahmin customary law.”)

As a result of this, they added to the meanings given under “Tamizhan,” “a Tamil man,” and I was very glad to make this contribution to such a very important work.

As Tamil gives us the word “mango,” let us not forget that Trichinopoly, a most famous Tamil town with a Tamil name, has given us the cheroot, which is merely Tamil for a roll. In English a roll means a particularly nice little loaf ; in Tamil it is a roll of tobacco.

“Dādi eriyacchē cherūttukku neruppu kōttānām.”

(“When one man’s beard was burning, another man, it is said, asked for a light for his cheroot.”)

Just as, when I was lying desperately ill of fever in the Madras General Hospital, a kind lady wrote a letter of most anxious inquiry about a dog that I was looking after for her sister ! Nothing could have been more lucky ; the news of my illness had supplied her with the address—of the dog.

I must be drawing this paper to a close. Among over ten thousand proverbs one can make but a small selection, but I hope that the specimens I have given suffice to prove my thesis, that the Tamil proverbs do really give a key to the language and to the mind of the people. Of all the hundreds of subjects not touched on by me hitherto, let me, in conclusion, choose but two, poetry and content, to

show you that these two essential ingredients in human life and thought are not neglected or despised :

“ Kavi kondārukku kirtti  
Athai sevi kollārukku avakirtti ”

(“ Fame to the hearers of a poem,  
Ill fame to those that give no ear to it ”),

“ Kamban vittu vellāttiyum kavi pādum ”

(“ The very maidservant in [the poet] Kamban's house will improvise poetry ”),

and—

“ Pōthum enkira manamē pon seyyum marunthu ”

(“ The heart that saith, ‘ It is enough, ’ is a philtre that can make gold ”)

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held on Monday, May 17, 1920, at the Lincolnshire Room, 7A, Tothill Street, Westminster, S W, a paper was read by Mr Sydney G Roberts, ICS (retired), entitled "Tamil Proverbs A Key to the Language and to the Mind of the People" Sir Harvey Adamson, KCSI, occupied the chair The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present Sir J D Rees, Bart, KCSI, CVO, MP, General Chamier, The Lady Katharine Stuart, the Hon Charles Patrick Stuart, Mr and Mrs H R H Wilkinson, Miss Webster, Mr J B Pennington, Mr J H S Reid, Miss Roberts, Mrs Nash, Mr H C Balasundaram, Mr S A Dass, Mrs Tracey, Mr W K Bowen, Miss F R Scatcherd, Mr F J P Richter, Mr Duncan Irvine, Mrs Van Der Linde, Mrs Drury, Miss Rosanna Powell, Miss Ryan, Mr C Leo Parker, Mr Robert Sewell, Mr S S G Viran, Mr W W R Lester, Mr and Mrs H R Cook, Miss Dunderdale, Mrs Mackenzie, Mrs White, Mrs E F Kinnier Tarte, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, the paper to day is rather a long one, so I will not detain you with many preliminary remarks I have much pleasure in introducing Mr Sydney Roberts, who is a distinguished Tamil scholar, and who has made a special study of Tamil proverbs Mr Roberts acquaintance with the Madras Presidency is the accumulated wisdom of two generations, for he has been a Madras civilian himself and his father was a Madras civilian before him I will now leave you to enjoy the paper

The lecture was then read

The CHAIRMAN I have to apologize to you most humbly for being where I am to-day, in the chair, for I confess I know nothing about Tamil proverbs My only acquaintance with the Tamil people is derived from the butlers and cooks and ayahs that waited upon us in Burma, the land of my adoption They were good, faithful, and intelligent servants No better are to be found anywhere in India, or, in my opinion, even in this country They are, like the Russians, marvellous linguists There is scarcely one of them who cannot talk Tamil, Telugu, Hindustani, Burmese, and English with equal fluency, but their language to "master" is English Consequently, I know scarcely anything of Tamil I have heard it spoken to my sorrow. Mr Roberts says it is not a sweet language, and I agree with him It came to me as a never-ending rumble of incoherent sounds from the godowns From hearing it I gathered two impressions, first that there are more R's in Tamil than even in Scotch, and second, that the Tamils are the most loquacious people in the world, and that they have a powerful flow of words

Well, ladies and gentlemen, you may ask, if these are my qualifications for presiding at a Tamil lecture, how can I have the face to appear in the chair? I will tell you Those of you who know Mr Sydney Roberts know that he has a very persuasive tongue, and that, like the Tamils of whom he speaks, he is a master of eloquence When Mr Roberts asked me to preside at this lecture I said to him "My dear Sydney, the chairman at a paper at the East India Association is expected to get up and give an analysis of the paper, whereas I know nothing whatever about Tamil proverbs, and, in fact, I have never heard one in my life ' Then Mr Roberts turned upon me the tap of his eloquence, and I was overpowered by the flood I do not remember all that he said, but the gist of it was—"The more ignorant you are of the subject the better fitted you are to be an impartial chairman ' So I rashly consented, and here I am apologizing for being where I am. It would be a mere impertinence on my part to attempt any criticism of the paper Proverbs in any tongue are pithy and concise expressions of the experience of a people They are a sort of potted wisdom Their beauty lies in their wit and condensation To appreciate them properly you must understand them in the language of their origin However good a translation may be, it can convey only the meaning without the wit of the original Beautiful as are the Proverbs of Solomon in our English Bible, they must have lost much by translation Another reason why one who like myself is ignorant of Tamil can hardly venture on criticism is that it appears to me that this paper is not an introduction to Tamil proverbs for the benefit of the uninitiated, but rather a collection of tit bits for the consumption of those who are already enlightened Still I think that the proverbs which have been quoted are beautiful and expressive, even in their translation, and I am sure that all who have heard the paper will realize how fond an interest Mr Roberts has taken in his subject.

I venture to express an opinion that the Tamil scholars who are present will find much of interest that is new to them in this paper I hope that Tamil scholars will continue the discussion, but, for my own part, I am just a little afraid that these Tamil scholars may already be thinking of me in Tamil in the words of their own proverbs, that I am but a "cock that crows in the egg, or "a top without a string"

Sir J. D. Rees said that when there was a lecture on Tamil in London he thought it was satisfactory that some of those who were interested in the Tamil language should come and say a word or two about it, and his first remark after thanking the lecturer for so charming a lecture would be that he wished the Tamil proverbs had been given in the beautiful Tamil character because, although he could speak Tamil for many years pretty nearly as well as English, he confessed that even with the knowledge he had, he was unable to pronounce a word or understand a word when transliterated into the Roman character. He said that not by way of complaint, but because it raised an issue which he believed had been much discussed by the East India Association He could understand a person who had no interest in languages, and who could not appreciate their aroma and their subtlety and their individuality, desiring to crush them all

into one mould, and to prescribe some horrible script in the Roman character, to the destruction of the beautiful and characteristic letters of the Eastern languages. He protested, however, that notwithstanding his familiarity with Tamil, he could make absolutely nothing out of any Tamil word in the whole of the lecture, because it was given in the Roman character. He did not believe anyone would ever learn the Tamil language in that way, or any other language. He was afraid his remarks would be regarded as rank heresy by the late Secretary to the Association, a good man who had been led astray by Esperanto and strange gods of that description.

He wished to say the subject was a most admirable one for a lecture, and so far from being remote from living interest he believed that if the joint committees of the Lords and Commons were familiar with the Tamil proverbs they would be very much more at home with their subject than some of them were. As an instance, he might take one from the paper, because it was a very instructive one, but he would not attempt to put it into Tamil. It was said in the paper "Even an ascetic will not lose pride in his caste." That would be a very valuable reflection for those persons who were proceeding on the assumption that caste was almost, if not quite, dead. As a matter of fact, it was the most living thing in India, and those who would like to see such institutions as caste abolished were the very worst guides to be followed by those who wished to get at the hearts of their fellow subjects in India. It pained him to read the offhand condemnation of caste in which our Bishops and clergy often indulged.

The lecturer had referred to Mr Lazurus's Dictionary of Tamil Proverbs, which was a most interesting book, and he would like to say how very much like the Bible the Tamil proverbs are. There was a most extraordinary resemblance which must be obvious to anyone who had read them. In some cases they were really almost word for word identical with some of the most beautiful things in the Bible. "The tears of the poor are like a sharp edged sword," which was just like Ecclesiastes. The same idea in almost the same words. Still another "You can stop the boiling pot, but not the mouth of the village." Who that had lived in India did not realize the truth of that and of many other Tamil proverbs? The lecture they had just heard added very largely to the very moderate information of those who, like himself and others present, realized what a beautiful language Tamil is—how complete and perfect, and how ignorant those are who sometimes describe it as a coolie language. It would be just as correct to call English an unpolished language, as it would be to say the same of Tamil, which was one of the most perfect languages that was ever invented. When he read books in Tamil the construction often reminded him very much of Thucydides where you begin at the top, and only get to the finite verb at the end of the page.

In conclusion, he wished to apologize for his rather disjointed remarks, and it only remained for him to express his appreciation of the lecture, and to say how very glad he was to have been able to hear something about the Tamil language from an expert in this country, and to express the hope that he would never again see an Indian language, be it

Hindustani or Persian, with the beautiful Arabic character, sacred to all Mohammedans, or Devanagari character, sacred to all Hindus or the Tamil language, sacred to Tamilians, disfigured by the vain effort to present them in tortured and misapplied Roman characters underscored, over-dotted, and altogether incongruous and absurd (Hear, hear, and applause)

Mr RICE said he had spent a good portion of his time in the Madras Presidency, but he was afraid most of his time was not spent in the Tamil country, and Mr Roberts had given him credit for a good deal of wisdom he did not possess with regard to the subject of Tamil proverbs, of which the lecturer was a master and of which he knew comparatively little. As Secretary of the Association he would like to say to Sir John Rees that it was possible that the Tamil proverbs were not printed in the Tamil character, because as Tamil was not a universal language the printers were not able to get type in the Tamil character. Possibly, also, it was due to the lecturer having sent in his "copy" written in the English character. With regard to Sir John's reference to the late Secretary's fondness for Esperanto, he could assure him that he entirely agreed with all he had said on the subject of transliteration. He agreed that it absolutely took away the character and beauty of the language to have it in the form in which it was printed, and, although he put it down mainly to his own very limited knowledge of Tamil, he found himself in exactly the same position—he could not make sense of any of it. So far as he personally was concerned he had nothing to add to what Sir John Rees had said on the subject, and he felt he could not put it half so well.

The Chairman in his few remarks had referred to the Tamil language as a "rumble of incoherent sounds," whereas Sir John D. Rees had referred to it as very beautiful—one of the most beautiful and complete languages in the world. That rather brought him to what the lecturer had said on p. 463—

"It is the everyday life that is so hard for a foreigner to learn—the little words, the little household customs and sayings, and it is precisely these which he will meet with in these proverbs. And if he learns a little, and uses that little, then he can learn a little for himself, for in India, if one is out fishing for information, you must bait the hook with a little knowledge. Then people realize you are a learner, not a scoffer and will take a pride and a pleasure in explaining their manners and customs."

He would like to join those two together, because if one did not take a pride and a pleasure in trying to find out what the people were doing, then the whole of India was nothing but a rumble of incoherent sounds from end to end. He had not personally made much enquiry in the direction which the lecturer had chosen either in regard to the Tamil language or the Tamil proverbs, but he had taken considerable pains to make himself acquainted with many walks of native life, especially in the villages, and he found, as the lecturer had stated, that if one took a pride and pleasure in his work the Indians took great pleasure in explaining their manners and customs, religions and ceremonies, and he found in many ways that if one did not do that, then, as the chairman had said, the whole of one's



experience in India would be nothing but a rumble of incoherent sounds, which he had said Tamil was to him, but which he was certain Burmese was not (Hear, hear)

The Lady KATHARINE STUART said she was not a Tamil scholar, but she would like to clear up a little misunderstanding about the subject of Esperanto. It was not intended to supersede the beautiful languages of India, but was rather intended as an auxiliary to enable people to realize something of other languages and the thoughts of other people—to look at the ways and the thoughts of others through their own spectacles, as it were, and to look at life as they looked at it. She very much regretted she had not learned the local language when she was in India, but like the chairman she was spoiled by the fact that all the people about her spoke English so well that really no opportunity was given to one to commence learning the language. It seemed to her that each language contained a certain truth, and if one could take an international language as, say colour white, then each language as it became correlated with it would bring one especial colour, as it were, to add to it, and it was the same with individuals—they had to be loyal, not only to the general truth, but to the particular truth they were sent into the world for, called by Swedenborg the “*proprium*,” and she could not help thinking that Esperanto would help them to harmonize the general truth which all nations had, and the particular truth that each nation had to bring forward. Helpful and beautiful as were these proverbs with their sweet spice, was there not something even more divinely lovely in the living fragrance of the Beatitudes? for the worldly wisdom knew not God—nor so much as suspected *His* salvation.

Mr H C BALASUNDRAM said that he had had the privilege of hearing a good deal about Mr Roberts while he was in India, and they always looked upon him as one of their most distinguished and sympathetic administrators, and the name of their chairman was known to him as one of the friends of India.

He would not follow the example of one of the previous speakers by importing politics into so charming a lecture. In politics they were not often able to see eye to eye with their English friends, but so far as the lecture was concerned, the most charming portion of it was that which referred to the place of contentment in Indian life, and he would like to mention one or two proverbs which gave an insight into the real Indian life. When a wedding took place the elder of the family blessed the couple with a singularly effective phrase, “May you be as virtuous as Sita.” “Sita” stood for fidelity, devotion, and the fear of God. Then another which was very dear to those who lived in certain districts was “As the yarn, so will the texture of the cloth be”—that is, “As the mother, so will the daughter be.” As one went through the inlying districts of the Madras Presidency—where he had been working as a Missionary—one came across many fine instances of proverbs which all dealt with the warp and the woof and the little details of weaving, in which work the inhabitants were engaged from morning till night. Another proverb, of which a different rendering had been given, was “Even to the crow its little one is

precious " When a child went astray, and when the others pointed the finger of scorn at him, the devoted mother and the affectionate father throw out the proverb "So even this son who goes astray so often is precious to me." Another which was perhaps not very elegant was indicative of the kind of the particular kind of life "A cat which always finds a place in the temple," which was often applied to people who lived in the temple, and who made the offerings their main source of income That had both a ridiculous and a charming side to it, because when it was applied to a man about whom they had not a good report, it meant that the man had been making a fortune out of the temple offerings, but it was used in other cases to mean "As poor as a church mouse," which meant that his poverty was due to his devotion to the temple services.

He did not know enough about the different Provinces to enable him to speak as an authority, but he did agree with the lecturer that, so far as Tamil was concerned, if an administrator or a missionary wanted to help the Tamil districts of India he should first of all attempt to learn its proverbs, for the Tamil proverbs were a true indication of the life that was behind them (Hear, hear, and applause)

The LECTURER in reply said Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I feel that the criticisms which my former colleague and Sir John Rees have uttered on the crime of transliterating or attempting to transliterate Tamil are fully merited, if one has done anything which would suggest a belief that the script of a language is not closely connected with the character of the language I have had the pleasure in India of hearing a most marvellous lecture by a gentleman whose name I cannot, for the moment, recall, on the inward meaning of Tamil script, especially that marvellous letter "O" At the same time I must plead in mitigation of my offence that while it is not possible for any person in England, not surrounded by the speakers of the language, to get any sort of idea of the language from anything short of the Tamil script, yet it is found in practice by the very people who compiled that little manual for the use of prompters of all kinds in Ceylon and in the Malay States—it is found possible to transliterate the English form with some usefulness, and it helps one to some extent to fix the thing more firmly in one's mind than would otherwise be the case, because people who use manuals of that kind are not generally able to devote the time which is necessary for properly mastering the script When you consider the enormous amount of work that a young planter has when he first goes out to India, and who has not the time or the facility for study—when you consider that the transliteration may help him to a more extended knowledge, that is some mitigation of the crime to which I have been a party I am glad to have a confirmation from one born and bred in the Tamil country of the opinion which I have formed of the value of Tamil proverbs So far as my opinion goes (I can only say I have not borrowed it from other people), it is one which was confirmed in my mind in one of the few ways in which you can form a proper theory—that is, by the process of crystallization. If you fill your mind with as many facts as possible, and drop the thread of a question into that supersaturated solution, then very often

it will enable a theory to crystallize out which is really true, and, being composed of facts, is not only beautiful to look at, but does really afford an answer to the question before you. In the case of Tamil, of course, I would also say that the Tamil writing is, strictly, a process of engraving. I remember being told in one of the Arcots that the old village accountants were so expert that, with a narrow strip of palm leaf lying on their forefinger and with the thumb nail of the left hand prolonged into a shovel-form and notched for a fulcrum to their stylus, they were able to go along pushing a palm leaf this way and that way, incising letters on it whilst they trotted along by the side of the Tahsildar's palanquin, and so they could write in a perfectly regular and neat manner, and in a perfectly indelible way, whilst running. You read in the Bible, "He who runs may read," and I think this practice amongst these village people shows they were the first persons to find out that "He who runs may write." I do not know anywhere else that people can write whilst running, even with fountain pens, but this wonderful Tamil script can be used even under such difficult circumstances as that, and therefore I agree with Sir John Rees that the Tamil script is a very strong and inseparable part of the language, and that Tamil cannot properly be represented except by the script. With regard to the peculiar Tamil R, Sir Harvey Adamson is right in saying that the Tamil has more R's than any other language. It certainly has three R's. I may say that I was able to my own satisfaction to settle in my own mind from which coast of India the word "ginger" came. Ginger is an Indian product, and the word "ginger" must come from the west coast of India. For whilst it is true that *Inji* is the word for ginger, common to the sister languages of Tamil and Malayalam, the edible ginger is always known on the west coast as *Injiver* (= ginger-root), and this became *Zinziber*, from which we get *gingembre* and "ginger."

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, it only remains for me to thank you for your kind attention to my lecture.

The CHAIRMAN I have pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr Roberts for his very interesting paper and for the interesting speech he has just given us. I would like also to apologize to Mr Rice for saying that the Tamil language was a rumble of incoherent sounds, but he will remember that when I said it I said it in my ignorance. I agree with what Sir John Rees urged that the languages of India should always be written in their proper script. I am best acquainted with the Burmese language, and I know that when presented in Roman script it is unreadable. I would like to say that the speech which impressed me most to day was the one which was most relevant to the paper, the speech by Mr Balusundram. It helped me to appreciate the beauty of Tamil proverbs.

Sir J D REES May I as another Tamil man be allowed to second this vote of thanks to Mr Roberts.

(The vote of thanks was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

Mr RICE. It is my pleasing duty to propose a vote of thanks to Sir Harvey Adamson for so kindly presiding at our meeting. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN I am obliged to you, ladies and gentlemen.

## THE REPORT OF THE HUNTER COMMISSION

BY STANLEY RICE, I.C.S. (RETD.)

PUBLIC opinion has been centred so much round Amritsar and the dramatic doings of General Dyer that the true perspective of the events in the Punjab and Bombay in the spring of 1919 is in danger of being lost. It is, therefore, worth while to narrate briefly the story of Ahmedabad, Kasur, Viramgam and Gujranwala, where the mobs were quite as savage, quite as determined as that of Amritsar, and where, as the Report itself says, they only lacked the opportunity to obtain equal fame.

All these outbreaks occurred within a few days of one another; all were attended with loss of life; but as the numbers killed were comparatively small, except at Amritsar, the other riots have been more or less neglected, though they each, in fact, formed part of a widespread movement, whether due to conspiracy or coincidence, which must have influenced the Punjab Government and General Dyer in the course they took.

The outbreak on April 10 at Ahmedabad was immediately due to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi. Two Europeans were attacked with stones and fire, but managed to escape. A policeman, however, was captured, thrown from a balcony, and died the same day. On the 11th they burnt the Collector's Office and other public buildings, attacked three or four other Europeans, who escaped with their lives, and finally murdered Sergeant Fraser. On the 12th British troops arrived and the situation improved, though disturbances did not cease till the arrival of Mr. Gandhi on the 13th.

The outbreak at Viramgam on the 12th was marked by a particularly brutal murder of an Indian official who tried to defend his charge. He was dragged into the road and burnt alive, his clothes being saturated with kerosene oil. They burnt the railway station and the Mamlatdar's office, and looted the Treasury.

At Kasur two European warrant officers were killed; other Europeans had to fight for their lives, and the usual attacks were made upon the Government buildings. It is significant that here the crowd was composed of very low-class people to whom the Rowlatt Act and Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha could have meant little or nothing without promptings from others.

Gujranwala rose on the 14th. Here no European lives were lost, but there were very few there, and apparently it was through lack of opportunity rather than of intention that murder was not committed. The post office, railway station, and other public buildings were burnt.

This bare recital of the excesses committed in three or four places gives but a very faint idea of the general condition of the districts. We are to imagine howling, gesticulating mobs, ready for any kind of mischief, be it even arson or murder, confronted by the wholly inadequate forces of law and order, and backed by a whole countryside prepared to break into flame on the slightest provocation. Leaving the murders out of account, the damage done in the Punjab alone (including, of course, Amritsar) was estimated at nearly twenty-six lakhs of rupees. No mention has been made of various other places where excesses occurred, particularly of Lahore, Gujrat and Sangla, because reiteration would be wearisome; but all these places contributed their share in making the situation critical.

It is hardly necessary to record in detail all that happened at Amritsar. Suffice it to say that the mob, which "was no crowd of mourning" but was bent on "angry and obstreperous protest," before the Deputy Commissioner was

transformed into a raging mass of savagery—some say was provoked into excess—by three or four shots fired under the compulsion of events. The National Bank was burnt; three bank managers were brutally murdered; Guard Robinson and Sergeant Rowlands were also killed; Miss Sherwood was knocked down and left for dead, and Mrs. Easdon and other Europeans were saved more or less by accident. The total damage done in Amritsar District, a great part of which must have been in Amritsar City, was approximately valued at seventeen lakhs. Three days afterwards, while the city was still in the hands of the mob, General Dyer issued his proclamation by beat of drum and posted it in nineteen places. Finding it disobeyed, he fired upon the crowd in the Jalianwala Bagh and killed 379 men.

The Majority Report finds upon these facts that a state of rebellion which might at any time develop into a revolution did exist. The Minority, on the other hand, think that there never was any rebellion at all, and that therefore no revolution could have taken place. In Chapter III. they contend in great detail that at all the principal places things very quickly resumed their normal aspect, and that, even granting the importance of communications, very many of the offences against them were trivial. Their principal object was to show that martial law was at no time necessary, and incidentally that the action of General Dyer was quite unjustified, since the city was peaceful on the 12th. In pursuance of their object they take the nine reasons of Sir Michael O'Dwyer for declaring martial law, and proceed not merely to minimize but to demolish them one by one and to argue, what is self-evident, that the aggregate of Zeros amounts to Zero. In their condemnation of General Dyer as un-British and inhuman—epithets quoted by the British press—they are at least consistent: for having persuaded themselves that there was no rebellion at all, and that the city was peaceful, they naturally conclude that the firing was gratuitous. The Majority, on the other hand, having

premised rebellion and dangerous lawlessness, condemn General Dyer for two things : (1) that he gave no warning, and (2) that he went on firing after the crowd had begun to disperse. That he gave no warning is technically true ; at the same time the proclamation must have been read and heard by several hundreds if not thousands in Amritsar, and the doings of the last two or three days must have been in everyone's mouth. But to condemn him for continuing to fire is to confuse the issue. General Dyer, left to his own responsibility—for the civil authorities seem to have withdrawn altogether—conceived that by a sharp stroke he would end the rebellion ; many people think he did so, and even the Government of India says that "his action resulted in an immediate discouragement of the forces of disorder." Indeed, they praise Sir Michael O'Dwyer for "quelling a dangerous rising which might have had widespread and disastrous effects on the rest of India." Sir Michael O'Dwyer approved the General's action, and reading the Government of India's resolution closely, one is forced to the conclusion that the one officer is praised largely because he profited by the action of the other who is condemned. In condemning General Dyer for continuing to fire after the crowd had begun to disperse, the Commission seem to have turned from the general situation to the particular instance ; though they argue that "continued firing upon that crowd cannot be justified because of the effect such firing may have upon people in other places." Even granting this doctrine, it is still open to argument whether anything less than General Dyer's drastic object would have put a stop to the excesses in Amritsar itself. If force is to cease the moment that the immediate action is attained, a species of guerilla warfare is established which may be continued indefinitely. The mob have only to disperse and to concert measures for renewing operations in greater strength and in more favourable conditions.

The Commission has, however, done a great service in

confuting the hysterical shriekings of certain journals by bringing into prominence the actual state of affairs which existed in the Punjab at the time, and by placing General Dyer's doings in a truer perspective. The Majority and the Minority are in practical agreement on the facts, and their findings have been supplemented by the evidence of private persons who endured that anxious time. No doubt the evidence was mainly official, and the reason is given in Lord Hunter's prefatory letter. The Congress offered to produce evidence on condition that the Commission would recommend the release of the political prisoners. The reply was that such a course did not lie within the mandate of the Commission, but that they were prepared to call for the production of persons in custody who would be given every facility to consult counsel. This had no effect. It was evident that the aim of the Congress was to secure the release rather than to produce the evidence, and on December 30, when the principal leaders had been released, they offered to produce witnesses on conditions which amounted to reopening the inquiry. This the Commission declined to do. If, therefore, the Congress now accuse the Commission of partiality, they have only themselves to thank, for there is no doubt that the witnesses would have been produced, and that full opportunity would have been given for cross-examination.

The assertion that the crowd that went to the Deputy Commissioner's house on the 10th was a peaceful body, intent only on a lawful and constitutional protest, is summarily discussed by the Majority as "a travesty of facts." The Minority take a middle course. Without denying that the crowd were unruly, they imply that they were less truculent than their colleagues assert, and there is a similar divergence of opinion as to the result of the first firing. The Majority state bluntly that to say that "it was the cause of the excesses is simply untrue." The Minority hold that it was the spark which kindled the conflagration, and this is very likely true, but it is very far removed from the shriek that



this small incident—the firing of some six or eight shots—was the brutal act of an irresponsible bureaucracy which turned a peaceful and law-abiding crowd into a mob of savages.

Neither is it fair to talk, as more sober journals have done, of “being tarred with von Bissing’s brush,” or of imitating the Prussians. Systematic terror was part of the Prussian military creed, and in such cases as that of the Herreros part of the German colonial system. To institute such a parallel is like comparing the father who uses a strap to correct his boy with the fiend who turns his child out naked into a winter’s night with bruised shoulders and a bloody back. The British Empire has never yet relied and will never rely on the systematic use of brutal force; if it had it would not be where it is now, for no empire which has rested on force has ever lasted. But that does not mean that force is not to be used when the terrible necessity demands; and the question will always arise—a question as hard to answer in cold blood after the event as it is in hot blood at the time—what it is that necessity demands.

Not many words need be wasted over the “crawling” and some other orders issued under martial law. The doings of General Dyer after the firing was over were most unfortunate, because they put a complexion upon it which was eminently calculated to cause misunderstanding. The justice of firing upon a crowd which may or may not contain innocent persons may be questioned, but is at least capable of defence. The justice of making men, guilty or innocent alike, crawl through a lane because a lady was brutally assaulted there, and also of flogging certain persons because they were suspected of the assault, was indefensible. Not much better was what is known as the “salaaming” order, partly because it inflicted humiliation on those who disapproved of the disorders as well as on those who had taken part in them, and partly because it was an attempt to revive an obsolete custom. These things were done

because the military officers thought it their duty to do them; they were a form of "frightfulness," and it is significant that no one, not even those who unreservedly approve of the proceedings in the Jalianwala Bagh, has been found to defend them.

To men placed in General Dyer's position, who have to take their courage in both hands, there is no middle course. They must take their chance of reward or punishment. But if there was rebellion—and the Majority, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State agree that there was—and if as the Government of India admits, General Dyer's action put a stop to it, then he seems to have been treated with less than justice for doing, to put it very broadly, the right thing in the wrong way.

#### POSTSCRIPT

Sir M. O'Dwyer's letter to the *Morning Post* of June 9 confirms the general conclusions arrived at in this article, but strengthens the case by introducing certain facts unknown to those who have only had the Report itself as the source of their information. We learn now that the meeting of the Jalianwala Bagh was definitely found by judicial trial to have been organized by a man who had taken an active and prominent part in the outbreak, and who was actually sentenced to death for his deeds. How, then, could the meeting have been anything but a defiant assembly, the logical outcome of the previous three days' doings, and what becomes of the ridiculous assertion that it was a crowd of peaceful citizens gathered together to concert measures to restore law and order? It is, moreover, perfectly true, as Sir M. O'Dwyer contends, that the whole inquiry was greatly prejudiced by the delay in starting it, because to the natural blurring of the memory, common to all countries, we must add the susceptibility of Indians to outside influences, to intimidation, to persuasion, to misrepresentation, not to mention other even less creditable methods of colouring or suppressing evidence. The composition of the Minority and the delay in disclosing the facts are startling in view of what Sir M. O'Dwyer now says, but the cardinal points of the whole letter are to show up the rebellion in a light more lurid than ever, and to press home the charge of a conspiracy of which there may be no proof, but the existence of which, nevertheless, there are good grounds to suspect.

## WHAT THE WORLD WAR GAVE TO JAPAN

BY MICHIZO MASUDA

SOME Westerners may think that Japan is so far removed from the scene of the World's War that she has luckily escaped the terrible consequences of the strife. But this is only a one-sided view. Throw a piece of stone into the centre of a pond and you will find the rings thus formed spread ashore in all directions and at the same speed. The tidal waves caused by the sudden outbreak of an unheard-of struggle among nations at last came to wash and overflow the otherwise peaceful shores of the Land of Mikado, and many a change for better or for worse was witnessed within his sacred realm. The following is a description of some of the changes that were directly brought about by the war, with special emphasis on the cultured or intellectual side.

First of all, Japanese social life was entirely transformed by and after the European War. Hitherto the fourth estate of Japan was sleeping a peaceful sleep in complete enthraldom to the capitalistic classes. But at present they are awakened from their slumber and often resort to strikes in order to raise their wages or improve their conditions of living. The awakening of labour was especially precipitated by the International Labour Conference, for which the election of able representatives was necessarily made from among the labour classes. This procedure placed capital and labour on an equal footing, the latter being far inferior to and weaker than the former up to this time. Indeed, the awakening of the workmen is one of the most salient features of the post-bellum Japan.

Next comes the women's question. Japan is a country where the "man first, woman second" principle is maintained without raising any feeling of injustice or unreasonableness. Japanese women themselves have regarded their situation as natural, and therefore indisputable, and have never raised a cry of protest against man's tyranny. But since the introduction of Western literature they have no longer been mere "dolls," but have developed individualities equal to men—nay, even have become the "better half" of mankind, with the full enjoyment of heavenly as well as earthly gifts. The most remarkable precursor of such a tendency among Japanese ladies was the staging of Ibsen's "Doll's House" by the Bungei Kyokai (literally, the "Society for Art and Literature"), under the direct control of Dr. Tsubouchi, the most eminent—nay, the sole authority on Shakespeare in Japan. Toward the end of the play the heroine says pathetically: "We women must first find our true selves before we unite ourselves to men as their wives." This passage made a deep impression on the hitherto slumbering souls of Japanese women, who suddenly awoke to their wrong situation. Shortly afterwards the thoughts of Ellen Key arrested attention among the female reading public. Thus the Japanese women have gradually been led to enlightenment. Even at present they have no right of suffrage—nay, no right to attend a political meeting. They are still held in disrespect. In point of fact they are still inferior to men in intellect, capacity, education, etc. It will take a few centuries more to enable them to stand on an equal footing in deed as well as in name.

Last of all, let me refer a little to the inner life of the Japanese people as it has changed after the World's War. To speak candidly, the Japanese were waterproof against democracy, but the war has broken the hard crust of bigotry and permeated the sweet juice of democracy through the whole frame of the nation. Indeed, the word "democracy" became so popular as to be Japonized and adopted into the

large family of vernacular vocabulary. Some foreigners still look on Japan with a little suspicion, thinking that she is a dangerous, aggressive nation. But nothing is farther from the truth. Even under bureaucratic rule she was never a warlike nation. She fought the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars for the defence of the country and the people. She has been forced to fight. Now Japan is a different country from what she used to be. If the Government in power is disposed to make war, the whole nation will not back up the scheme if it does not fall in with their wishes.

Hitherto Japan was in reality a land of nobles. The intelligent minority has been governing the uncultured majority. But the tables have been turned, and the power of the masses has come to be the central factor which set in motion the whole national machinery. Nothing can be done without the consent and support of the general masses. Such a change is a remarkable result of the World's War, and things keep on changing every day.

Indeed, Japan has undergone a complete transformation since the outbreak of the gigantic world's struggle. Visitors to the Land of Mikado before the war, if they revisit the country, will rub their eyes many times before they can assure themselves that they have landed on the same Mikado's Land. Foreigners who would form the latest views in regard to Japan and things Japanese must be quit of all their preconceptions and come face to face with Neo-Japan and Neo-Japonism.

## THE BURMESE SHAN STATES AND THE TAI

BY CAPTAIN H. J. INMAN

THE Burmese Shan States are bounded on the north by China, on the east by China, on the south by China and the French Lao territory by Siam and by Karenni, and on the west by the Bhamo, Ruby Mines, Mandalay, Kyaukse, Meiktila, and Yemethin Districts of Upper Burma, and by the Toungu District of Lower Burma.

All the states are ruled over by hereditary chiefs; the most important of them are entitled Sawbwas, from the Shan "Sao," a lord, and "Hpa," father. The second-class chiefs are called Myosas, and third-class chiefs are called Ngwegunhmus.

The most important of the Shan States are North and South Hsenwi, Hsipaw, Kengtung, Mongnai, and Yawngghwe.

The Shans of Hsenwi have stronger Chinese affinities than the others more to the south.

There is a considerable percentage of Chinese and Chinese Shans in North Hsenwi, and there are some Chinese in South Hsenwi.

The Trans-Salween substate of Kokang, which is a part of the North Hsenwi State, was acquired under a convention with China in 1897. It was then thought likely that the Mandalay-Lashio Railway would eventually be carried on to the Kunlong Ferry, and up the valley of the River Nam Ting, on the other side of the Salween, into China.

The chief of Kokang is known as the Heng, and was a Chinaman when I was there in 1897. He was a man of considerable influence. The population of Kokang is largely

Chinese, and he was Lord of the Marches. He had had much frontier fighting, and was nearly blind through the explosion of his powder horn. He had had trouble with the Huetzu, or Chinese Muhammadans of Yunnan.

He lived at Satishu, a mountain stronghold overlooking the gorges of the Salween, which flowed thousands of feet below. This place was approached north and south by stone stairways, and with those exceptions was entirely surrounded by a dense mass of entangled creepers and thorn bushes. His house stood in the centre, a typical Chinese building.

Our frontier military police post was at Tawnio, eight miles from Satishu, and was under the command of an Assistant-Commandant of the Lashio Military Police Battalion, and consisted of Punjabi Muhammadans, who were very friendly with the Huetzu; these latter were inclined to spread alarmist reports regarding the massing of Chinese troops with artillery across the frontier. It was considered advisable to send a civil officer, and I, being at Lashio at the time, was sent to Kokang.

While I was there the Heng came down to Tawnio and took part in the celebrations of Queen Victoria's second Jubilee; he came with a large following, with many banners and gong beaters. The Government decorated him with a Burmese title.

There is a large Chinese temple, or joss, at Tawnio, dedicated to Kwang-Fu-Tsz, a military god of the Han Dynasty, and effigies of Chinese cavalry and infantry guarded the portals.

Whilst I was there an English traveller arrived from Canton, having travelled by way of the West River, Kwangsi, and Yunnan.

The Chinese Muhammadans, or Huetzu, have a colony south of Kokang in the La-Wa State of Sonmu. They are a remnant of the rebels who tried to establish a Muhammadan kingdom at Tali in Yunnan during the seventies of the last century, but were defeated and scattered by the Chinese Imperial troops.

They are known to the Burmese as Panthes, and, like the Heng of Kokang, are great traders with mule caravans.

There is also a Chinese colony at Loi Maw in the South Hsenwi State, administered by a Chinaman, called a Myosa, who is subordinate to the Sawbwa of the South Hsenwi State.

The Hsenwi-Shans have a legend that a white tiger killed the daughter of the Emperor of China, and was tracked into Hsenwi and thence into Manglön, and was there trapped and carried via Tang-Yan, Möng-Pat, Ho-Ya, and Namhkam, to China in a basket. Tang-Yan in Shan means the "basket bends down." The local Shans say it is called so after the tiger that was brought there in a basket. One march farther north the *coup de grâce* was given to the white tiger at Möng Pat, which means in Shan the place of the cut; and still one march farther north at Ho-Ya the tiger's head was cut off—Ho-Ya means to cut off the head—and at Namhkam, in North Hsenwi, there is a pagoda sacred to the white tiger.

When the Emperor of China knew that the tiger had been killed he was glad, and presented the Sawbwa of Hsenwi with a seal authorizing him to collect toll from traders passing through his state.

Though the legend has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted, it shows that amicable trading relations have long existed between China and Hsenwi.

When King Thibaw was deposed in 1885, the son of the then Hsenwi Sawbwa was a political prisoner in Mandalay. His father was at war with an adventurer from the Tang-Yan side who had placed himself at the head of the Kachins, and when the Sawbwa's son was released he immediately marched against the usurper of his father's dominions, but was defeated near Lashio. When a British column moved north from Fort Stedman in 1887-88, it was decided at Mong-Yai that the Hsenwi Sawbwa should be recognized as a chief of the southern portion of the state, and that the leader of the Kachins should be recognized as



the chief of the northern portion. Thus the Hsenwi State became divided into North Hsenwi and South Hsenwi.

About the time of the annexation there was trouble in the Southern Shan States too. The Sawbwa of Kengtung had killed the Burmese Political Officer, and had attacked and burned down Kenghung, the capital of the neighbouring Chinese Shan State of the same name, and the Sawbwas of the Cis-Salween States of Mōng Nai and Lawksawk joined him. The Limbin Prince, a member of the Burmese Royal Family, was at the head of the confederation.

But a British column under Colonel Stedman marched up from the plains and established a post in the high ground east of the beautiful Inle Lake, 3,000 feet above the sea. Here the Superintendent and Political Officer of the Shan States had his headquarters.

The Pax Britannica was soon enforced. The Limbin Prince surrendered, and the Superintendent and Political Officer, accompanied by a column, marched north into Hsenwi, as already stated, and a Superintendent of the Northern Shan States was appointed, with headquarters at Lashio.

All the chiefs acknowledged the British Government except Sao Maha Nalao, Sawbwa of West Manglōn, who refused to meet the Superintendent and fled into the Wa States. His elder brother, Sawbwa of East Manglōn, came in and met the Superintendent and was appointed as chief, not only of East, but of West Manglōn too. I mention this as Sao Maha Nalao, after many years of wandering in the Wa States with his son and always refusing to meet any British officer, came in and visited me at Tang-Yan in 1904 with his son, and finally accepted the hospitality of the Southern Hsenwi Sawbwa and elected to live at Mōng-Yai, the capital of South Hsenwi.

The Manglōn Sawbwa was an old man and the father of several children. He was half a Wa, but he was a Buddhist. He, too, lived in a mountain stronghold at Weng Takut across the Salween, and until he visited Lashio for the

Viceroy's Durbar had never seen a British headquarters station. He was alarmed when he saw the aide-de-camp wearing a diplomatic sword, and it needed all my power of persuasion to reassure him before he could be induced to follow that aide-de-camp into the Viceroy's presence. Needless to say, he was very kindly received with his two little sons.

The late Hsipaw Sawbwa was another remarkable character in the Northern Shan States, and had had a varied career. He was the first of the Shan Chiefs to acknowledge the British, and when he visited England had the honour of being received by her late Majesty Queen Victoria. His son, who has since succeeded him, was educated at an English public school.

All the Shan chiefs pay tribute to the Government, though in the early years after the annexation this was in some cases only nominal, for I remember when I was at Fort Stedman in 1891-92 the Kengtung Sawbwa used to pay some wax candles, some gold and silver flowers, and a pony, as annual tribute into the Treasury there, and the Manglön Sawbwa up to 1905 never paid more than 500 rupees tribute, but then we expected him to keep the Was in order.

The Superintendents of the Northern and Southern Shan States are assisted by a staff of Assistant-Superintendents.

All these officers when European British subjects are *ex officio* Justices of the Peace, and have District Magistrates' powers, and Superintendents are Sessions Judges.

All criminal jurisdiction in which the complainant or the accused is a European, American, or Government servant, or British subject not native to a Shan State, is withdrawn from the chiefs of the states and vested in the Superintendent or Assistant-Superintendents. In such cases the criminal law in force in Upper Burma as modified by the Shan States Laws and Criminal Justice Order is in force.

Superintendents and Assistant-Superintendents exercise powers under the Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act.

The Superintendent exercises revisional powers in all criminal cases, and no capital punishment can be carried out until the Superintendent's sanction has been received.

The Assistant-Superintendents act as advisers to the chiefs under their control in the maintenance of peace and order in their states, in the suppression of crime, in the administration of civil and criminal justice, in the assessment of taxes and collection of revenue, in the preparation of the annual state budgets, in the carrying out of works of public utility—such as the construction of cart-roads and bridges and public buildings—and in many other ways, such as census work, and collecting information for the Imperial Gazetteer of India, and intelligence work.

Commissions fixed the boundaries between Siam, French Indo-China, and China, and when the last was being done in 1900 two British officers were murdered by the wild Was, one of whom was my predecessor at Tang-Yan in the North Shan States, and I was then appointed in his place to be Assistant-Superintendent there.

The Was inhabit the Trans-Salween country east of the South Hsenwi State and south of the river Nam Ting and north of East Manglön. They were unadministered, and British officers visiting these parts had to go with a strong military police escort. In 1896 the Superintendent's party had to fight its way across the Salween, and there was more fighting there in 1897.

The Was are Animists and Head-Hunters, and believe in spirits, mostly evil, haunting the woods and mountains, and they like to have human skulls outside their villages, because they believe that the "manes" of the deceased wanders around its skull, and thus prevents evil spirits coming near. In fact it acts as a sort of ghostly patrol. They are not pleasant neighbours, but I had them on my eastern frontier at Tang-Yan, and no doubt they would have liked to add my head to their collection if I had given them an opportunity.

In 1904 an adventurer calling himself Hkun Li, after

residing some time in the La-Wa country, collected a following and invaded the South Hsenwi State. He was credited with supernatural powers, and posed as an embryo king, or "Minlaung." He committed dacoity and murder, and attempted to collect revenue.

The South Hsenwi and Manglön levies were called out, and, reinforced by a handful of military police, I accompanied the Superintendent and assisted in breaking up the gang, Hkun Li and several of his followers being killed in the action, which took place ten miles north of my headquarters at Tang-Yan.

The Mandalay-Lashio Railway was completed in 1902, and another railway line is now being constructed in the Southern Shan States.

The Sawbwas and their chiefs have constructed many feeder roads to these lines, and when I was at Tang-Yan the South Hsenwi and Manglön Sawbwas between them made a hundred miles of cart-roads, with bridges, thus opening up the country to wheeled traffic.

The Shan is fairer and taller than the Burman, and is muscular and well-formed. He dresses in a pair of baggy cotton trousers, with or without a jacket; he wears a large head-dress rather like an Indian pagri, and crowns it with a limp, broad-brimmed grass hat. The Shan women dress like their Burmese sisters, but with the addition of a head-dress. The Shan man tattoos in blue often from the waist to the ankle, and in red on his chest and arms. The Shan braves, or fighting men, have little silver charms let in under the epidermis of their arms to render them immune from gunshot or sword wounds.

The Shan is superstitious and believes in magic and enchantment, and though a good Buddhist, is often at the same time an Animist.

He is very fond of gambling at festivals, and sometimes is given to opium eating.

The Shans are thrifty people and harder workers than the Burmese; they are good cultivators, but excel as traders.

The necessities of life are not so easily obtained in the Shan Hills as in the fertile deltas and valleys of the Irrawaddy and Menam, and the Shan has by the force of circumstances become a trader with the plains, and caravans of pack-bullocks pass to and fro all through the open season between the interior and the railheads.

When the Shan trader is not rich enough to own bullocks he becomes a porter, and often carries as much as 70 or 80 lbs. weight of goods twenty miles or more a day, the goods being contained in large bamboo baskets slung on a pole balanced on the shoulders.

The houses of the better class are clean and comfortable and are more homelike than in Burma, for in the rainy and cold seasons you will find the family often seated round a glowing charcoal fire drinking tea out of china cups, with which milk and sugar is never mixed, but only a pinch of salt.

They are independent in character and are fond of travelling and adventure, are cheerful and hospitable, and ready to render help to each other. An innate restlessness of character gives rise to frequent change of residence, so that the inhabitants of a given locality are not always native born to the locality.

The Shans are good weavers and dyers, using their own natural vegetable dyes, they are fair blacksmiths, and some of their gold and silver work is equal to the Burmese, though not so bold in design perhaps. They make paper from the paper mulberry, and use the natural oil of the wood-oil tree for lacquer work. They make earthen pots and practise wood carving, and are rough carpenters—not so skilled, however, as the Burmese in this branch.

They cultivate rice mostly in the lowlands of the valleys and depend on the mountain streams for irrigation, and they also clear the highlands on the mountain side and depend on the rainfall. All Shan villages have gardens.

The River Salween is the principal natural feature, and throughout its course preserves—to quote the *Gazetteer of*

*Upper Burma and the Shan States*—the character of a gigantic ditch or railway cutting scooped through the hills, which rise thousands of feet on either side. Owing to the many rocks and rapids it is not navigable.

Another important natural feature is the geological fault or rift running from the Goteik on the western side of the Hsipaw State to the Kunlong Ferry and continuing up the valley of the Nam Ting into China. This marks a line of great geological disturbance. The Mandalay-Lashio Railway crosses the Goteik Gorge on an iron girder bridge 800 feet above the stream and was a triumph of engineering skill.

Limestone is much in evidence, and rivers have a mysterious way of burrowing underground and coming out again farther on.

Gold washing in the Salween and other streams is quite a common practice, but the gold is only won in small quantities. Silver and lead are more plentiful. Inferior coal has been found in North and South Hsenwi.

The Southern Shan States Syndicate was carrying on mining operations in 1914.

The beautiful Inle Lake is a noticeable feature in the Southern Shan States.

The great Shan Plateau is west of the Salween and runs south from the geological fault into the Southern Shan States. Its average height is 3,000 feet. The bracken fern is plentiful; the crab-apple and wild raspberries grow; on the hills around are pine woods, and oak and chestnut are common.

Loi Leng is the highest hill in the Shan States, its peak being nearly 9,000 feet high. It forms the centre of the South Hsenwi State.

The Trans-Salween country is a medley of hills rising higher and higher to the watershed between the Rivers Salween and Mekong, and here the head hunters hold high revels when the heads come home.

Along the border between Burma and the Shan States

all kinds of game common to Burma are found, from an elephant to a snipe. The cry of the white-faced gibbon, or *Hylobates hoolock*, is a common sound in the Shan Hills during the cold season.

Teak wood is found in the valley of the Salween and in the Hsipaw State, but the forests have been spoilt to a great extent by the cutting of green teak.

The sal, or *Shorea robusta*, is a common and useful tree in the states, as are also the wood-oil tree, the silk cotton tree, the paper mulberry, and the giant bamboo.

## COMMERCIAL SECTION

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### THE NEW CONDITIONS FOR BRITISH TRADE IN INDIA

BY THOMAS M. AINSCOUGH, O.B.E.

HIS Majesty's Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon, who is at present in London (Department of Overseas Trade), and is going on tour in the industrial centres to advise merchants and manufacturers as to openings for British trade in India

It was only to be expected that the war and its lessons wrought a great change in India and the trade conditions obtaining therein for exporters from this country. In the first place it was realized, as never before, what difficulties could arise when outlying portions of the Empire had to rely on the Mother Country for the most vital needs to ensure the continuance of their industrial life. In this difficult situation the Government of India led the way by establishing the India Munitions Board in 1917, which, primarily intended to meet the requirements of the war situation, has now been merged into a Department of Industries. They have been supported by all classes of the community, Indian as well as European, and in this way hundreds of manufacturing concerns have been floated which can produce in India goods for which that country had previously been dependent on exporters from England.

It is easy to see that this development will have a profound effect on the nature of British exports from now onwards. In the first place there is sure to be a great demand for plant with which to equip the new factories that are springing up in India. In that respect, unfortunately, the British exporter is at the moment handicapped by the difficulty of supplying these needs at short notice. Con-



sequently the United States are for the present in an advantageous position in this respect, both with regard to the time of delivery and the price. Secondly, an increased demand in stores and supplies of all kinds for these new factories may be confidently expected. And this demand is likely to continue for a considerable time.

On the other hand, the demand for certain manufactured goods from this country is sure to diminish : and this state of affairs will continue until the firms that handle those classes of export have learned how to adapt themselves to the new conditions. At the same time it should be remembered that the rise in the standard of living in India will produce a great demand for new commodities which hitherto were either not exported to India at all, or in very small quantities. Ultimately, therefore, we may look forward to a very great extension of the whole basis of trade as between Britain and India on lines hitherto not deemed possible. Thus India will not only remain our best customer in the overseas market, but will actually increase the lead she has already established over other countries. Only it must be borne in mind that conditions have been changed, and that British exporters must needs adapt themselves to these new conditions. Also it must be remembered that new and powerful competitors are in the field, where previously the position of the British exporter was deemed unassailable. The uncertainties of the sea voyage during the war and the restricted supplies from the home market must be deemed the chief causes of this new situation. Indian buyers have now established connections with American and Japanese business houses, and that has made them grow accustomed to look to these sources for goods which previously were obtained almost exclusively from England. In a word, through the circumstances caused by the war, India has become, in every sense of the term, a competitive market.

Japanese activity in furthering her trade interests has been very marked. The visible evidences of this new state of affairs are not far to seek, and anyone who returns to

India now would be immediately struck by them. In Calcutta and Bombay oversea branches of Japanese banks have been established. Japanese export and import houses have their offices in all the leading cities. From India's harbours Japanese steamers ply to all parts of the world. In fact, in practically every branch of Indian commerce Japan has endeavoured to obtain a footing. In the years 1913-14 Japanese shipments only totalled in value about £3,000,000. Since that date they have nearly doubled in value every year. In the years 1918-19 the total of £22,349,000 was reached as compared to £51,000,000 from the United Kingdom. Before the war the share of Japan in the import trade was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and for export  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In the years 1918-19 Japan had jumped into the position of second place.

The imports are here given in the order of their importance, and comprise: Cotton yarn and piece goods (47 per cent.), silk manufactures (6 per cent.), matches (4 per cent.), iron, steel, hardware, cotton, hosiery, brass, bronze, chemicals, paper, instruments and appliances, tea chests, paints, beer, apparel, woollen manufactures, glass, machinery, cement, earthenware, haberdashery, manufactures of wood, toys, stationery, toilet requisites.

From this it will be seen that staple trades are the branch of trade in which Japanese competition has been most successful. In future their efforts will probably be most insistent in textiles. Incidentally the interests of Japanese traders are served by a large number of commercial travellers and enquiry agents, who traverse the whole country and are armed with a liberal supply of catalogues and circulars. In spite of this, however, there has been a set-back in Japanese trade in the year following the war, which may serve as an indication that with the return of normal conditions buyers are returning to their old markets.

Turning to American competition, we find that, in the years 1913-14, that country exported to India goods to the value of about £3,000,000. The conditions that favoured

Japanese entry into the Indian market applied in the same way to the United States. American trade has been able to make use of the same new facilities : improved steamer connection, the establishment of business houses, the enterprise of commercial travellers, the distribution of catalogues. Every effort is made to adapt the goods to local requirements. In spite of the fact that the exchange is an adverse factor, British manufacturers are often underquoted by them, and the goods are supplied more quickly.

Turning to the items that are exported from the United States, we find these to be chiefly : iron and steel machinery of all kinds, canned provisions, motor-cars, and motor-cycles. The first necessity for British exporters is to be in a position to quote competitive rates. Further, it is important for them to be adequately represented in India by a trained staff out there, either by having their own branches and distributing arrangements, or, failing that, through being served by energetic agents. Owing to difficulties of various kinds, British exporters find it difficult to compete, in some branches of trade, with American rivals. At the same time we find Indian buyers taking British plant and machinery simply because, although more expensive, they have a high reputation for reliability, and the makers have a longer experience of local conditions.

But American imports, as well as Japanese, will probably continue to come to India. Japan is expected to retain the trade for cheap bazaar articles, which were never catered for by the British trader, and before the war formed more or less a monopoly of Germany and Austria. Japanese copper, sulphur, and brass are also likely to continue to be imported. Moreover, the new machinery and plant that has been already set up in Japan, or is planned, for turning out printed, dyed, bleached, and coloured woven goods is sure to mean strong competition with British manufacturers in this class of goods. But paints, apparel, beer, paper, hardware, iron and steel are articles where a decrease in the amount exported from Japan can be looked for. With

regard to imports from the United States, it is to be noted that prices have risen sharply, and deliveries are now being spread over a longer period.

With regard to the position in India, it must not be forgotten that she is at the present going through nothing less than an industrial revolution, and the whole tendency is to purchase locally wherever possible. Further, it must be realized that for British manufactures to be readily bought they must be offered at a competitive rate. Politics do not enter very much into the matter. The bazaar dealer, on the whole, does not exercise his mind so much as to the country of origin of any particular article offered to him. He wishes to have his requirements met at the lowest figure possible. And what is true in this respect of the Indian bazaar dealer applies to some degree to the British merchant. He will not entirely ignore the foreign article, if it happens to be cheaper.

It should not, however, be thought that I take a pessimistic view as to the future of the British export trade to India. On the contrary, it is possible to look forward to great expansion in the future. But my advice to the British manufacturer is, if possible, to go for himself to India, and to see with his own eyes how India has indeed changed in the last five years, and note the altered conditions. If he is an exporter of goods which are in large and constant demand, he cannot do better than arrange for his own representation, or combine with others in so doing. Never before in the history of our trading relations with India have the opportunities been so good and promising as they are to-day. For India has gained strength and stability during the war, and is more prosperous than ever before.

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## THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC POSITION OF JAPAN

(BY PERMISSION OF THE JAPANESE CONSUL-GENERAL IN LONDON,  
FROM INFORMATION COMMUNICATED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE)

### THE BUDGET

THE General Budget for 1919-20, passed by the forty-first Session of the Imperial Diet, totals yen 1,064,190,000 (£109,002,356) in revenue, of which the ordinary section amounts to yen 839,140,000 (£85,951,000), and the extraordinary section yen 225,049,000 (£23,051,214). Of the expenditure aggregating yen 1,064,190,000 (£109,002,356), the ordinary section claims yen 505,936,000 (£51,821,776), and the extraordinary yen 558,253,000 (£57,180,477).

In framing the Budget for 1919-20, the Cabinet, which witnessed the conclusion of the Armistice soon after its formation, found itself confronted with a critical turn in the affairs of the world. In view of the possibility of grave effect being brought in consequence on our finance and general economics, the Government felt it a matter of urgent importance to devise measures for placing the finance on the sound basis, so that they may be well prepared to meet the demand for various undertakings that may be occasioned on the restoration of peace. Having, at the same time, due regard to the possible state of revenue and expenditure in subsequent years, it was decided that matters of a permanent nature involving large outlays should be left untouched for deliberate treatment afterwards. The Government has, in pursuance of that consideration, adopted the policy of attending, so far as circumstances admitted, to measures of national defence and to expansion and encouragement of education, in-

dustries, and transport and communication services as demanded by the elevation of national status. At the same time utmost endeavours were made to check the expansion of ordinary expenses. As to increase of salaries of Government officers and others and additional allotment called for in various outlays in consequence of the general tendency of the times, it was decided that a definite programme be elaborated on economic affairs settling to normal condition, and that in the meanwhile temporizing measures judged necessary should be adopted.

#### EFFECTS OF THE WAR

Since the outbreak of the Great War the arrival of European articles having almost ceased in the Far East, South Seas, and other markets of the world, their place was taken up by those made in Japan. Besides, the supply of war materials and others to the Allies occupies an important place on the list of increased exports. And the imports, though affected by the war in some items, have also been on an increase, owing to the brisk demand for various materials occasioned by the unusual prosperity of home industries. For this industrial boom are, of course, responsible the ever-increasing exports on one hand, and on the other the stoppage of imports of some articles from Europe, thereby stimulating domestic production. The growth of sea-borne trade for the year, however, was due more to the advance of prices than to the increase in quantities. Since the U.S.A. participated in the Great War, restrictions on both exports and imports have been enforced with greater severity by the Allies, while there was no knowing when the shortage of bottoms and advance of prices and freightage would be relieved. Then, towards the end of the previous year, a peace overture was suddenly made by Germany, and this was reflected on both foreign and home markets, where operations of precaution were manifest in anticipation that the end of the war would not be far distant. This naturally affected the foreign trade,

and the exports began to fall off, especially after the conclusion of the Armistice in November, 1918. Fresh orders were withheld, and even goods already ordered were countermanded. On the other hand, the imports grew with the arrival of goods previously ordered, such as raw materials and foodstuffs. All this contributed to the diminution of trade balance that had been enormously in favour of exports.

### EXPORTS

Exports to French India showed an increase of 166 per cent., as against the previous year, those to British India of 100 per cent., and to Dutch Indies of 98 per cent. Still larger increase is seen in the imports. The arrivals from French India swelled by 650 per cent., that from Dutch Indies 180 per cent., and from China 110 per cent., the unusual proportion for the first two countries being chiefly due to the increased shipment of rice to Japan. In European trade, shipment to France gained by 45 per cent., but that to England and other countries recorded more or less decrease, owing to the restrictions on imports, shortage of bottoms, and other influences of the war, while exports to Russia fell off by 99 per cent. The decrease rate corresponded to 111 per cent. for the total volume of exports. The imports from Russia declined by 48 per cent., and those from France and other European countries also showed a decrease, while, on the other hand, those from England and Holland were increased, so that there was a slight increase in the total imports. The increase of exports to France was chiefly due to the large shipment of habutæ and waste silk to that country. Notwithstanding the embargoes enforced on both exports and imports in North America, purchases from U.S.A. and Canada grew 74 per cent. and 200 per cent. respectively, this latter being accounted for by the marked increase in paper pulp. Sales to U.S.A. and Canada were also increased by 11 per cent. and 69 per cent. respectively. Trade with South America

exceeded the level of the preceding year, due to increased imports of wool, india-rubber, etc., and to expansion of new markets in Brazil, Argentine, and Peru. The purchase of wool having decreased, returns for African trade rather shrank this year. On the whole, however, our relations with Egyptian ports and Cape Town had been growing closer in recent years. Australian trade was much improved, the imports gaining by 48 per cent. and exports by 139 per cent.

Cotton cloth and yarns were sold largely to China, India, and other countries in the Far East, habutæ to England and South America, and crapes chiefly to U.S.A. All these substituted European manufactures which were scarce during the war. Beans and starch went in large quantities to Europe, where they were in demand as auxiliary food-stuff. Shortage of European paper swelled the export of Japanese substitutes to Australia and Far Eastern countries, while waste silk was shipped to France and U.S.A. as material for silk spinning. Copper and zinc were purchased as war materials, the former by England, France, and U.S.A., and the latter by England, but the demand for them declined in the year under review.

#### IMPORTS

The swell in cotton purchase is due to brisk exportation of cotton cloth and yarns, most of the goods coming from China and U.S.A. The striking advance in the price of rice occasioned the import of Rangoon and Saigon rice to a large amount. The increase of iron, as shipped from China and U.S.A., and machines and machinery mainly from U.S.A., was stimulated by the prosperity of various manufacturing industries and the starting of new enterprises. Apart from the increased home demand, beans from China were required largely as material for soy-bean oil, which found extended foreign markets during the year. Bean-cakes as manure were much imported from China. The declined supply from China of lump brass and bronze,



zinc ores, and antimony is accounted for by the depression of their refining industries, which in turn was caused by the reduced demand for those metals from abroad. Ammonium sulphate from England saw a decline because of the difficulty of its import and the increase of domestic production.

As a member of the Allies, Japan, besides actually taking part in the conduct of the war hand-in-hand with them, also endeavoured to the utmost of her resources to extend help to them, both financially and economically. Naturally, Japan's economic market was profoundly affected by the war, either directly or indirectly, for it was unavoidable that whatever economic changes appeared in Europe and America should also be felt on these shores. Below will be attempted a brief survey of our economic movement during this memorable epoch of four years and a half.

#### FINANCE

When the European War broke out in July, 1914, Japan soon entered it on the Allied side, and promptly took steps to subjugate Tsingtao. The dislocation of the money market of Europe had adverse effect on Japan, threatening a recall at once of all her short-termed foreign loans. Our money market was placed in a strained condition. Then followed, one after another in quick succession, economic disturbances of grave moment, such as the peril of voyage, abnormal advance of marine-insurance rate, deranged condition of exchange market, and so on. Our oversea trade was thrown out of order, and the heavy fall in the raw silk market—the most important export—inflicted a severe blow to our economy. It was fortunate that it escaped with relatively less harm than it would otherwise have been but for the distance that separated Japan from the seat of war, and for the fact that the policy of contraction she had consistently pursued for several years past in finance left the central coffers in comparatively easy condition. The result was that the Treasury was enabled to pay the Tsingtao expense without falling back on any special financial devices.

The year 1915 witnessed a favourable turn in the financial and economic movement of Japan, due to succession of orders arriving from Europe for war materials and from the South Seas and neighbouring countries for Japanese goods to take the place of imports that used to come from Germany and other warring countries. Next, the growing scarcity of the world's tonnage exerted a favourable influence on the charterage and freight rate of Japanese bottoms, with the consequence that the amount of her "invisible international receipt" was materially increased. Meanwhile, the dislocation of the economic condition of the world stimulated the rise of various new enterprises in Japan, especially chemical and mechanical industries, the import of whose productions had become seriously obstructed, this occasioning abnormal advance of the market.

All these factors of economic activity acquired greater impetus in 1916—namely, increased demand for munitions from the belligerent Powers and for the Japanese substitutes from the Far Eastern countries and the South Seas. The result of this state of trade movement was shown in the balance of trade being returned continuously in favour of exports. Then the withdrawal of the world's bottoms for transport service and the destructive activity of the enemy submarine occasioned greater scarcity of shipping available for normal purpose of transportation, this accounting for the unusual boom the Japanese shipowners experienced in their business with enormous receipts realized from both charterage and freightage. The situation of the international account developed highly favourable to the credit account of Japan, and her specie hoard grew apace. This general economic tendency was reflected in the steady rise of prices of commodities and in the striking activity of all economic enterprises, which absorbed immense amount of funds. Bank deposits and loans and clearing-house returns marked a new record. Japan was now in a position to undertake the issue of a number of foreign loans, and, moreover, to

redeem to some extent her foreign liabilities contracted before the war. Amidst this state of universal boom a rumour circulated towards the end of that year that Germany had decided to propose peace gave a shock to a section of the economic world, especially to the stock market, in anticipation of possible sudden developments in the market of the world. It experienced a slump, to be soon restored to the normal condition. This incident served as a good warning to our economic world.

In the first half of 1917, thanks to the continued prosperity of her oversea trade and the great prosperity of the ship-building industry, Japan's economic activity reached the highest water mark ever known before. Meanwhile, the expansion of the scope of the war, with the necessity on the part of the belligerents to face the situation, resulted in restriction in the consumption of principal commodities, or to the subjecting of them to control, thereby partially limiting both exports and imports. Thus the development of our oversea trade experienced a great check. At home the greater advance of prices of commodities and the increased inflow of specie obliged the Government to adopt a special measure to counteract the economic policy of the other countries, to place the foreign trade under ban, and also to subject the money market, volume of currency, prices of commodities, and shipping under control. In the second half of the year the economic movement experienced a check, but fortunately it continued on the whole to move in a favourable direction.

In 1918 the downfall of Czardom in Russia and her independent peace with Germany, the spread of Bolshevism in Siberia, and the serious menace in consequence to the frontier of Japan, this even compelling her to despatch troops for its defence, brought about greater restriction on shipping, transactions on staple commodities, and foreign trade. However, it did not prevent the continued activity of our trade with the South Seas and South America. At the same time, import trade began expanding, export trade lagging far behind. It is noteworthy that even amidst

these circumstances our business world continued lively, and, indeed, a similar phenomenon was witnessed in the general market. The advances in prices at last provoked the loud outcry of a section of people complaining of hard living, this developing into riotous agitation in several towns. The conclusion of the Armistice in November suddenly plunged the war-time enterprises in depression, though at the same time it raised hope of restored animation of normal enterprise. Both the money market and industries having been on guard, the economic world did not experience any great set-back even on the memorable occasion of the cessation of the war.

## THE ATTITUDE OF KRILOV TOWARDS LITERARY WORK AND CRITICISM

### I.

#### THE RICH MAN AND THE POET

(*Translated by* JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., LL.D.)

WITH rich grandee a Poet issue raised,  
And Jove implored for his support.  
They both were summoned to the Court.  
They came : one lean and half-starved and dazed,  
Scarce clothed and bare of feet.  
The other all in gold, puffed up with proud conceit.

"Olympian Autocrat, have mercy now !  
O Cloud compeller ! Lightning hurler ! thou"  
(The Poet cried). "How have I sinned 'gainst Thee,  
That from my youth I suffer Fortune's ban ?  
No rest ! No rest ! and all I have and gain

Merely imagination vain !  
The while my rival here so proud—  
Of wit and merit void—your image great outclasses !  
The Palace girt by an adoring crowd,  
A life of luxury in clover passes !"

"And is this really naught—  
Thy lyre to latest age with sounds will ring ?"  
(Said Jupiter). "And to remembrance brought  
Grandchild and great grandchild thy songs will sing.  
Hast thou not fame and name thyself secured ?  
While I to him mere earthly ease assured.  
Trust me ! Were he to knowledge more inured,  
And were it possible for him to see  
His utter emptiness compared with thee,  
He'd grumble more than thou against the lot by him  
endured."

## SIR HENRY COTTON

BY MADAME OLGA NOVIKOFF

It often seems to me that we do not sufficiently value the best things in life, particularly some of the pleasures and delights that are always within our reach. There are, for instance, certain books—do they not lead us into the society of the best and noblest of our fellows, mould our thoughts and guide our opinions, act on us as a happy influence to awaken and stimulate independent thought and reasoning? It is wrong to pass over such books in silence, for to do so is to leave unnoticed pleasures for which many a mind may yearn. To this category belongs, in my opinion, "Indian and Home Memories," a book as fresh now as on the first day of publication, whose author, Sir Henry Cotton, having spent more than thirty-five years of his life in India and occupied there the responsible posts, first of judge, and later on of Lieutenant-Governor of Assam, was a great authority on Indian affairs. On his return to England in 1906, Sir Henry was elected a Member of Parliament, where his defence of Indian feelings has always been conspicuous by its solid foundation on fact and experience, and where his past judicial activity served him in such good stead, as much from the dialectical standpoint as from that of an extreme conscientiousness in relation to every question upon which he touched.

Of Sir Henry's reminiscences I will refer to only such as concern ourselves—in other words, the pages that touch upon Russia's rôle in Tibet, and upon the author's interview with that sincere friend of Russia and that enthusiastic champion of sobriety, the great Gladstone. Let me

turn, first of all, to far-away Tibet, and afterwards to the question that unhappily touches us so closely, that of the unrestrained sale and consumption of alcohol, so rapidly abolished by the Imperial Order and infamously reintroduced by the Bolsheviks, together with their other infamous measures.

It is obvious from Sir Henry's descriptions that every mention of Russia's policy in Asia was immediately converted by Lord Beaconsfield and his party into a scare. Even the Viceroy of India at the time, a man of wide culture and intelligence, did not escape this contagion, and on one occasion, indeed, the rumour having reached Simla that a stray Mongolian Buddhist had forced his way to the almost unapproachable Dalai Lhama, he grew seriously alarmed, and saw in the incident a dangerous Russian intrigue. These feelings, however, did not prevent the Anglo-Russian Entente from becoming a fact some years later.

But let us return to the distant timorous Tibet of that time, whose somewhat childlike prayer to its gods was that it might be left in peace and saved from the attentions of any uninvited guests that may find excuse or reason for entering its sacred precincts. Tibet, with its beloved Dalai Lhama, had acknowledged the supremacy of China, and was, as it seems, perfectly happy and contented in its inviolable isolation: thanks to the distance that separated her from her ally, and turned that intimacy into a very platonic one. In England, however, at that time, they grew excited on account of the above-mentioned Mongolian, and sent to Lhasa the ironically called "peace-loving expedition." Sir Henry, however, at the time did not give it that euphemistic title. Things have changed, however, even in distant Tibet. I do not know whether a curious report has reached English ears to the effect that the last Dalai Lhama, so far from being afraid of foreign faces, some years later even negotiated with Russia for his personal visit to the Emperor Nicholas II. This naturally

would have been a great event in Tibet, and something new and very amusing for Petrograd.

Let us turn now to another question touched upon by Sir Henry, a question of vital interest to Russia—that of sobriety. I will quote Sir Henry's words on this subject, in connection with his reminiscences of that kind Slavophil, Gladstone :

"I found Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone quite alone, with the exception of Mrs. Drew, who was not well enough to come to table, and remained lying on a couch. There were no servants admitted during the meal, so that complete privacy and frankness of conversation was possible, and we helped ourselves from the sideboard, Mr. Gladstone refusing assistance in carving or in any other way. He spoke of his departed son William with emotion, and pressed me to tell him of my recollections of him as a young man. After that the conversation somehow drifted on temperance, and he indulged in reminiscences of his own past. In his youth there had been heavy drinking at table, especially of port, in which he had himself shared, but he had early broken himself of the habit. 'By drinking nothing,' said he, 'you can easily cure yourself from any desire to drink. And so I trained myself until during a long day's tramping on the Scotch moors I would need to drink nothing at all, not even water. Give me now a glass or two of good sound claret, and I want no more.' Then he asked me what I was accustomed to drink in India, and I said two or three long glasses of whisky and soda. 'Too much!' he interposed; 'one a day should be enough.' And when I ventured to suggest that with the heat and exhaustion of the climate some greater stimulus than that was occasionally wanted—'Not at all, not at all.'

"Then," continues Sir Henry Cotton, "I boldly raised the subject of India, and referred to the difficulties and intricacies of the problem we were destined to face in that country. He lifted his hands, and in a tone of pathos cried: 'All true! all true! Of that I feel sure. But who



is enough for these things? It all comes too late for me. I am too old to take up any big question now! At last he said he must rest."

This little page of Gladstonian reminiscences interests me, and reminds me of countless occasions on which Gladstone spoke of the advisability of encouraging tea-drinking among the people. Indeed, there were many who even laughed at his enthusiastic advocacy of this harmless beverage. He himself, I am told, never limited himself to one large cup, but could do with many, and that draws a curious parallel between the great Gladstone and some of my Tamboff peasants, on the occasions when they came to tell me their troubles, and I also offered them tea.

It has always been my dream to see India, and it was also the dream of my brother Alexander to inspect the magnificent scenery, the numerous monuments, the different striking nationalities, the beauty of which has often been described in Russian books, and is grandly painted by our Vereschagin. When I was in England during the Slavonic agitation I had the chance of being asked to go out to stay with an English official. The invitation was tempting—but at that time I was very young, and suddenly got frightened at the idea that the presence of a Russian in an English official house in India could do harm to my host. So I declined the invitation, an action which, of course, was absurd, as they were sure to know their interests better than I. That did not prevent me, however, from travelling in my imagination to Hindustan, and I naturally enjoyed conversations on India, and I liked to see that Sir Henry, with all his sympathies for the Indian people, was always guided by his great sense of duties to his own country. However that may be, his remarks testify to the outspokenness of his political views.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

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### THE QUEST OF ANTIQUITIES\*

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

THE many visitors who inspect the antiquities in the Egyptian galleries of the British Museum, and who have before their eyes the masterpieces of the greatest of all ancient civilizations, must be affected in various ways by the great array of objects they see. One impression, however, can scarcely be otherwise than common to all temperaments, and that is the atmosphere of stately austerity and calm which pervades the great gallery. The statues of the august personages who sit stolidly on their thrones, or the massive sarcophagi which embraced the mortal remains of the Pharaohs or their nobles, seem to be the very embodiment of decorum, dignity, and power. One would imagine that their entrance into their resting place in the museum would have been accomplished in the most decorous and dignified manner, and with pomp and circumstance befitting their traditions, and yet we have to learn, by the narrative Sir Ernest Budge now lays before us, of the tortuous and adventurous paths by which many of these antiquities journeyed from the *caches* in which their ancient ministrants hid them to the haven they now occupy in the great *cache* prepared for them by the Trustees of the Museum. One could scarcely imagine, moreover, before reading these volumes, that the Egyptologist who sits as stolidly as the statues he guards in a study on the floor above them is the agent who devised and carried out the deeds of "derring do" which snatched so many antiquities out of Egypt and safely deposited them in London.

Sir Ernest Budge's activity is astounding. Since his student days in the seventies he has published about 130 volumes, many of them bulky tomes involving the transcription of hundreds of lines of hieroglyphic, coptic, cuneiform, and other characters. He has prosecuted his researches, discharged his official duties at the Museum, and, as we now learn, has made no fewer than seventeen expeditions to Egypt and Mesopotamia on behalf of the Museum. Added to this, one must suppose a minimum time for eating and sleeping, and we have a picture of crowded years of ant-like activity and industry.

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\* "By Nile and Tigris"—a narrative of journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on behalf of the British Museum, between 1886 and 1913, by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Kt., Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. London, John Murray 2 vols., 8vo., 1920. Price 3 guineas net.

It must be frankly admitted that in the two handsome and well-illustrated volumes which we are now examining the author has provided us with a narrative of the greatest interest. His introductory reminiscences of the late Dr Samuel Birch and other Orientalists of the last generation are no less interesting than the vivid picture he paints of travel and life between Baghdad and London, but all this is incidental to the main purpose of the work, which is an account of the missions he undertook to acquire antiquities for, and under the instructions of, the British Museum Trustees.

As regards the acquisition of Assyrian and Asiatic monuments, there is little comment to make. The British Museum was the authorized holder of certain sites from which, in the absence of the excavator, a leakage of antiquities became apparent, and objects emanating from the Trustees' concession were coming into the "antica" market. Sir Ernest Budge's primary duty was to investigate and rectify this abuse, and from these journeys incidentally he returned with many other spoils acquired in various ways. It is, however, of the Egyptian journeys and their results that we would more particularly speak. Under local law, the details of which have been modified from time to time, all Egyptian antiquities are the property of the Government, and all treasure trove has to be rendered to the authorities, by whom alone permission to excavate can be granted. Whatever we may think of the principle, there is no doubt that the law as formulated was ill-conceived and worse executed, and the administration of the Service of Antiquities was, and is, anything but perfect, and in the teeth of all regulations clandestine dealing in antiquities has been vigorously carried on, and a great trade done with private collectors and the representatives of European museums. Under the two periods of administration by the late Sir Gaston Maspero technical difficulties were largely overcome by his charming and diplomatic personality, for he generally succeeded in maintaining the official standpoint and at the same time he satisfied all parties, both native and foreign, and if the letter of the law was not strictly complied with, at least matters proceeded smoothly. In the intervening period, however, the administration was in the hand of persons less gifted with Maspero's peculiar qualifications, and the tactless and rigorous methods employed to enforce the law had no other effect than to make the zest of antiquities all the keener, and a steady flow of them was smuggled out of the country.

Rightly or wrongly—we will not presume to sit in judgment—Sir Ernest Budge determined that the British Museum collection should continue to acquire its share of all the antiquities it needed, if not with the consent of the Egyptian authorities, then directly in opposition to them. Again and again he tracked down his treasure, and to secure and export it became a battle of wits, a battle in which he was always the victor. As an instance of this we may cite the case of the group of papyri—those of Ani, Nu, Anhai, and others (Vol. I, p. 123 *et seq.*). Sir Ernest Budge and the Service of Antiquities were both informed of the "find," and both were determined to acquire it. To cut a long story short, he secured and hid the papyri before M. Grébaud, of the Service, arrived. Grébaud caused the house in which they were stored to be sealed and guarded, but Sir Ernest

secured his treasure by undermining the back wall of the house under cover of darkness, and by this rat like means outwitted the guards who were posted in front. By means far more subtle he succeeded in getting his papyri from Upper Egypt to the coast, where, by another manœuvre, they left the country, and finally arrived at the British Museum, whilst the finder continued his travels eastward.

The author tells us much, but he whets our appetite for more. We gather from his account, for instance, that the Papyrus of Ani was seen by him *in situ* in its owner's tomb, which was presumably inviolate, but he tells us nothing about this tomb or its other contents, indeed, its very site would seem to be unknown to all but him.

On the same adventurous journey the famous Tell el Amarna Tablets were secured for the British Museum, and the fight by which they were won is vivid and interesting, but perhaps the episode of the orange box, which attaches to a later journey, is the most original of all (Vol II, p 351). Sir Ernest Budge had secured the missing portion of an important Greek papyrus, and the authorities, who were aware of this, put every difficulty in his way to prevent his making off with it, and the Customs officials were warned to be particularly on the alert. The papyrus was laid by its captor between the sheets of a packet of souvenir photographs, and Sir Ernest on his departure from Egypt carried these, his greatcoat, and a box of oranges which he purchased. He checkmated the railway officials who were looking out for him, and had then the Customs officers to deal with. These latter demanded his orange box, and he made the most stubborn resistance to handing it over. The excitement became intense as the officials naturally supposed that it concealed the papyrus, hence his reluctance to have it searched. Finally Sir Ernest, with an ill grace gave in, the box was opened and found to contain—oranges, but during the scuffle he had handed his great-coat and the packet of photographs to his servant, who bore them safely away!

"Nile and Tigris" is a book of captivating interest, but it is amazing reading. It would be amazing enough if the adventures there related with such candour had been undertaken on behalf of a dauntless private collector, but when we reflect that Sir Ernest Budge was the official representative of a great British Government department, who instigated, aided, abetted, and approved, it gives us furiously to think whether in the interests of science the time has not come for a thorough overhaul of the entire law relating to antiquities. Now that Egypt is a British protectorate, the British Government should surely consider the necessity of using its influence with the local authorities whereby a just and equitable system might be formulated, to the end that every great Museum or Institution which will undertake the proper conservation and publication of its treasures shall be able to obtain a fair share of antiquities by more orthodox means. We know too well that, things being as they are, if Sir Ernest Budge had not succeeded in obtaining his specimens, the representative of some foreign museum would have done so, were he clever enough, but this does not affect the principle. Apart, however, from the main issue, there is no doubt that Sir Ernest Budge accomplished his tasks with

brilliant success, and as the result the British Museum collection is enriched by many unique and wonderful objects; but we cannot take leave of this interesting book without a regret that the *shawabti* figure of the Pharaoh Amenophis II. was not replaced upon the mummy of the King, instead of forming, as it now does, part of the British Museum collection (Vol. II., p. 366)

## EGYPTOLOGICAL NOTES

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

3 IN the notes on the religious reforms of Akhnaton in the last issue of this REVIEW,\* reference was made to the rigid and fixed order of precedence which obtained throughout the Pharaonic period of history. In this connection some notes on a contemporary document which gives a classified list of the hierarchy may be of interest. The British Museum has long possessed a document probably written about the time of the twenty-first dynasty, which is generally known as the Hood Papyrus †. After the manner of Egyptian hieratic compositions it bears a most comprehensive and grandiloquent title, which may be rendered as follows

"Here begin the instructions whereby the ignorant as well as the learned may know exactly all that the Ptah has created and Thoth recorded, the heavens and the stars, the earth and all that therein is, the gushing waters, the mountains, the inundation, the oceans, as well as the things which are beneath the canopy of Rê, and all the hierarchy established on earth"

According to the title, this little document of two pages promises to be a veritable handbook to a knowledge of the universe, and after a mention of the name of the copyist, one Amenemopet, it plunges straight into a catalogue of all things animate and inanimate

The first section enumerates the sky, the stars, the phenomena of nature, and water and land in its various aspects, especially the former, land being treated of only in its relation to water, and the second section deals with the hierarchy, beginning with God and Goddess, the spirits of the dead, then the reigning King and his wife. Next follow the princes, governors, and the higher civil and administrative officers of the State. These are succeeded by the officers of the Pharaoh and his court, the nomarchs, military dignitaries and civil servants. After these are viceroys and local governors of provinces and subject states.

It will thus be seen that hitherto all the officers mentioned (below the rank of the royal family) have been secular as opposed to religious, and the following section opens with the priesthood. The first prophet of Amon precedes the high-priest of Rê, a natural order under the Theban

\* *Supra*, p. 338.

† No. 10,209. It was published in facsimile with a transcript translation and commentary as long ago as 1888 by Maspero in the second volume of his *Études Égyptiennes*.

dynasties. The religious functionaries are curiously punctuated by the insertion of a number of officials of the palace, after which the enumeration of clergy and laity of the temples is resumed, down to the attendants, porters, bakers of various kinds of sacrificial loaves and cakes, and craftsmen in wood, stone and metals attached to the service of the temples, when the narrative abruptly comes to an end in the middle of a word.

Any kind of commentary on this interesting papyrus would be out of place on the present occasion. The above has merely been stated to show what an elaborate sense of order the Egyptians possessed, nor is this document unique. Scraps of a duplicate text were discovered amongst a mass of papyrus fragments on the site of the Ramesseum at Thebes,\* and a fuller and much more complete version, at present unpublished, exists in the Gollenschief collection. In the main, the order of precedence is borne out by the monuments, although several titles mentioned in the papyrus have not been found elsewhere, and, on the other hand, a certain number with which we are familiar do not occur in the list. This may be partly accounted for by the fact that many titles held by the Egyptian aristocracy, and which are set out at length in their tombs, were merely honorific, and did not imply any definite or traditional function. A detailed study of this text raises many interesting problems as to the origin, nature and order of the titles, the investigation of which involves the whole history of ancient Egypt political, mythological, and legendary.

4 *The Critical Study of Egyptian Art*—The Egypt Exploration Society has recently been most fortunate in securing the services of Monsieur Jean Capart to lecture on Egyptian art †. The study of ancient art in general and Egyptian art in particular has been pursued in a somewhat haphazard and uncritical manner, and the time is fully ripe for a more systematic handling of the subject. Monsieur Capart is known to a wide circle of readers by the numerous sumptuous publications which bear his name, and a new volume on the critical study of Egyptian art which covers the whole field is already in the press, and its appearance eagerly awaited.

In spite of the excellent work done by Perrot and Chipiez, ‡ by the late Sir Gaston Maspero, § and others, the systematic study of Egyptian art is hampered by a number of causes, which the lecturer described. These are (1) The hurried and sparsely recorded discoveries of early excavators, and the hazards of discovery, and the inevitable gaps in the series, (2) the dispersal of objects in various museums, (3) the uncritical accumulation of objects in the museums, (4) the absence of a comprehensive collection of plaster casts, (5) the imperfection and inadequacy of

\* *Hieratic Papyri and Ostraka from the Ramesseum*, London, 1898, Plate lxvii.

† At the Royal Society's Rooms, on March 23, 1920.

‡ *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, Tome I, *L'Égypte*.

§ *Études sur l'Art Égyptien*, Paris, 1912, and numerous separate memoirs.

publications, and the different methods and styles of illustration employed, which makes comparison difficult; and finally, (6) the mass of unpublished documents which still await proper treatment in the British Museum, the Louvre, the Turin Museum, and, in fact, in all the great collections.

In addition to the above, the subject teems with internal difficulties. There is a lack of literary tradition; there is no Egyptian Pausanias; the names of the artists are unknown to us, and we fail to find analogies with other countries in tracing definite schools of art. Again, the varying quantities of documents of the same date from one locality, and indeed from a single tomb, embarrass us. Another great problem is an oft-recurring one—namely, the usurpation of monuments by later Kings, the misconception of which has thrown the chronology of the subject into chaos.

The history of Egyptian art is not so much a record of progress as the history of deviations and derivations (as far as rigid conservatism would permit) from a very ancient standard of perfection. With these preliminaries, each of which was illustrated by apt examples, Monsieur Capart proceeded to discuss the task which lies before us at the present time, the greatest and first of which is a critical examination of origins. We must next beware of preconceived ideas, which bias the mind and warp the judgment. We must draw logical conclusions from established facts, however disturbing to our pet theories the results may be. Art has always been an irresistible peg on which to hang a mass of hypotheses and dogmas. We must content ourselves for the present with making faithful use of our materials, and with realizing that the absolute beginnings of Egyptian art are still beyond our reach; much hard work must be done and many gaps must be filled before we can set about the task of building up a continuous history of the art of ancient Egypt.

## CORRESPONDENCE

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"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

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### THE PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK IN ENGLAND

BY DR. MICHAEL D. VOLONAKIS

BEING a Greek myself, I have always admired the earnest and very active pursuit of classical studies, principally Greek literature, by the British people, most especially at Oxford and Cambridge, those venerable strongholds of Greek scholastic learning. Also I have often read with delight the opinions of leading scholars and prominent statesmen as to the high value of such education.

Owing to the zealous study of the treasures of the ancient Greek spirit, as revealed to the Western World since the Renaissance, the British Empire has produced most distinguished scholars and learned students of the distant past, who successfully led the youth of their day to a better conception of political duty and to higher ideals, embracing the welfare not only of the British but of the whole of humanity.

From the schools and universities of the kingdom, imbued with classical culture, recalling the ancient Hellenic and Roman world, there came forth authors of monumental works, the great pioneers of British statesmanship and administration, veritable ornaments of society, discoverers in the field of literature, science and art, who have held their country's reputation high in the councils and judgments of the world.

I have been happy enough in visiting—on a special mission—some of the most famous English schools, and witnessed the progress made in Greek studies, but I was very sorry to hear that the number of students of that language "to which," according to Professor Arthur Headlam, "the world owes mental discipline, humanism, political wisdom and the love of scientific truth," has been steadily decreasing.

Headmasters and professors have informed me that many students were beginning to consider Greek, like Latin, a dead language, and useless for practical life.

This made me think that the study of Greek would be followed up with more zeal, if certain modifications were introduced in the system of teaching, thus enabling parents and students to see that this reform would be to their own advantage as well as to that of the community in general.

This slight reform would extend to the method of pronunciation, which must be rapidly replaced in all the schools by that practised by modern Greeks. This alteration could be helped forward by the professors who are appointed in the Universities and colleges for teaching modern Greek.



Such a reform, I am sure, would not militate against the most arbitrary Erasmian arguments, for it is almost universally admitted that the pronunciation of modern Greek is not only handed down traditionally by the Byzantines to the modern Greeks, but also that this pronunciation is consonant with that which began to form in the fifth century B.C. and was crystallized in the Greco-Roman era \*

Otherwise it may be considered from a practical point of view as a waste of time to try to learn a language not as it is actually pronounced by the nationals of that country, but according to foreign prescriptions, or as it may possibly have been pronounced thousands of years ago

The modern Greek pronunciation would considerably help the young to learn modern Greek easily, and so make them feel the joy of learning a living and a useful language, or as the distinguished Professor Spencer Wilkinson states, "to have the sense of having acquired a new power." Furthermore, the study of Greek, in accordance with the noble British traditions for *litteræ humaniores*, would be revived and maintained in the higher grades of education

Greeks, as is well known, preponderate as merchants and seamen in the Eastern Mediterranean

Owing to their wide commercial connections they are frequently brought into contact with the British, the great seafaring and manufacturing people, and consequently British interests, which are so prevalent in those waters, would greatly benefit thereby.

This affinity of interests between the two peoples, cemented by traditional and mutual sympathy, will be highly strengthened and consolidated by a better and wider understanding of the two languages.

\* Some instances confirm it. As is well known, Plato in "Kratylus" tells us that his contemporaries instead of the *τ* perversely use either *α* or *κ*. We also know that a verse from the Delphic oracle quoted by Thucydides and running thus, "A Dorian war will come and a plague with it," raised a vehement discussion amongst the Athenians owing to the employment of a word the sound of which bore two meanings—namely, *limos* and famine, and *loimes* and plague. The *istacisme*, therefore, commenced at that time can also be seen in later inscriptions, in manuscripts and in the prejudice which existed against it among the Latins.

# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

**LIFE OF LORD KITCHENER** By Sir George Arthur In three volumes  
(Macmillan) 1920.

(Reviewed by LIEUT-GENERAL F H TYRRELL)

It is just four years since Lord Kitchener met his mysterious fate, and the myth of his survival, which for a time excited the hopes of some of those nearest and dearest to him, has long since been finally dispelled. The story of his strenuous and brilliant career is told in these three crowded volumes by his friend and confidant, Sir George Arthur, who sums up his hero's epitaph in the words "He lived for his country, has served his country, he died in her service His country will not forget"

He was born in Ireland, through the accident of his father having purchased an estate there, but there was no Irish blood in his veins nor Irish sentiment in his nature

He was a quiet boy, not physically strong, for he outgrew his strength, and consequently was not good at games, he never went to a public school, but was educated at home, and was in consequence more cultured and better informed than most of his contemporaries

His father, Colonel Kitchener, had been in the 13th Hussars and wished his son to follow his career in the cavalry, but the boy's genius was mathematical, and his father wisely allowed him to follow the bent of his mind, and he obtained a commission in the Royal Engineers at the age of seventeen. He had no advantages of birth or wealth, he owed his rapid advancement solely to the good opinion formed of his character and qualities by those under whom he served, or who came in contact with him. Carlyle has defined genius as an infinite capacity for taking pains. Kitchener's genius was of this description, plodding rather than volatile, he planned and prepared for all eventualities with care and forethought, and he left nothing to chance, but he was quick in decision and prompt in action

Once he had made up his mind, he could not be turned from his purpose, he despised argument and declined to enter upon it. When he joined the corps of Royal Engineers he came under religious influences. It might be supposed that the study of the exact sciences would be apt to inculcate a distaste for theology, but, in fact, a larger proportion of religiously minded men are to be found in the scientific branches of the army, and in the good old days of the purchase system the officers of those branches were wont to be classified by their comrades of the cavalry

and the line under the three headings of "Mad, Married, or Methodist." Kitchener's religion took the form of attachment to the ritualistic practices and doctrines which were then beginning to permeate the life of the Anglican Church; and he became a member of the Army Guild of the Holy Standard, and remained so till the end of his life. His religious convictions probably influenced his acceptance of employment on the Palestine Exploration Fund, which first introduced him to the sphere of Eastern life and politics. When he was a cadet at Woolwich he had already begun the study of Hebrew as a recreation; and he was keenly interested in the geography and archæology of the Holy Land.

The opportunities afforded by military service in our widespread British Empire, with its various peoples and its varying climates, make the British soldier a man of the world in the best sense of the term, and dispose him to pity the ignorance of his continental brother-in-arms, whose experience of the world is confined to the military district within which his corps has its fixed and permanent abode. But few British officers have had such wide fields and such varied experiences of service as Lord Kitchener of Khartoum. His early employment was as an Engineer officer, surveying and mapping Palestine, Cyprus, and the Peninsula of Sinai; but the knowledge thus gained of Oriental men and manners recommended him to Lord Beaconsfield as one of the Vice-Consuls whom he was appointing to superintend the introduction of reforms into the Turkish Empire, with the vain hope of converting that moribund monarchy into an efficient barrier against the further advance of Russia in the Near East. This grandiose scheme was upset by Mr. Gladstone's accession to power, whose first care was to reverse the policy and to cancel the appointments of his predecessor. Kitchener lost his job, but after a brief spell of home service he heard the East calling him, and fulfilled the wish of his father that he should be a cavalry officer by joining the Egyptian Army and becoming Major of the single cavalry regiment of the land which had once sent forth the horse-men of the Pharaohs and the Mamelukes. He took a share in all the desultory fighting with the Dervishes in the Red Sea littoral and the confines of Egypt, and became successively Adjutant-General of the Egyptian Army, and then its Commander-in-Chief or Sirdar, that title being used by the Turks to denote an independent command. In this capacity he planned and carried out the reconquest of the Egyptian or Eastern Sudan, proving himself to be a strategist and a tactician of the highest order. In the crowning victory at Omdurman, ten thousand Dervishes were left dead in the field, while the loss of the victors, both in British and native troops, did not exceed fifty. In describing the gallant charge of the 21st Empress of India's Lancers in this battle, Sir George Arthur, in a note, makes the curious misstatement that "the 21st Lancers had only joined the British Service (from the E.I.C.) in 1862, and had not seen service since a detachment acted as a guard to Napoleon at St. Helena." The regiment was only raised in 1858, during the Mutiny, previous to which time the East India Company had no corps of European cavalry in its army.

To the command of the Indian Army he was warmly welcomed by the

Viceroy, Lord Curzon ; but as the poet Saadi says : " Two Dervishes can sleep under one blanket, but one kingdom cannot contain two kings ! " Lord Cromer and Kitchener had worked in perfect harmony in Egypt, unhampered by councils, rules, or regulations—these latter they made as they went along. But in Simla Kitchener found himself tied up in red tape, confronted at every step by the *non possumus* of some finance minister or Accountant-General. Instead of the rule-of-thumb methods on which he relied, he found himself involved in an endless tangle of routine and circumlocution. It was patent even to a newcomer that Army Headquarters were paperlogged with a plethora of correspondence and minutes-writing, and its work impeded by the defective co-ordination of departments, and the overlapping of their functions. Lord Curzon himself had written to Kitchener before his arrival : " I regard military administration in India as bound up in interminable writing and over-centralization, from which I have been doing my best to relieve it. " And not long after taking up his command Kitchener entirely endorsed this judgment : " I find I have hardly a moment here in this awful system of doing nothing but write minutes, which apparently make up the Government of India ! To get anything done, however small, under the present system is the work of a lifetime ; and as soldiers only hold their billets for five years, the result is evident, and is apparently what the Government of India like. . . . "

In Great Britain the Secretary of State for War, who had at first been only the mouthpiece of the Army in Parliament, had gradually encroached upon the functions of the Commander-in Chief until finally he usurped them altogether ; and a similar process was going on in India, the Military Secretary, who was a Member of the Viceroy's Council, assuming an independent authority ; this Lord Kitchener would not brook, and when Lord Curzon backed up the Military Secretary a struggle commenced between the two strong men which led to the resignation of the Viceroy, and Kitchener gained his point.

After the expiration of his tenure of the Indian Command he succeeded his friend and patron Lord Cromer as British Agent in Egypt, where he proved as able and successful in the Cabinet as in the field.

He was called from his civil duties on the unexpected breaking out of war with Germany in August, 1914, to take the place of the civilian Secretary of State for War, and to prepare a totally unprepared nation for a struggle such as it had not been engaged in for a century. He surpassed all his previous achievements and proved himself a second Carnot in the arts of organizing victory and improvising armies.

These volumes contain two portraits of Lord Kitchener, one from the picture by Horsfall in the National Portrait Gallery, another in Field-Marshal's full-dress uniform, from a photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company ; also photographic groups of the Field-Marshal and his Staff, and facsimile copies of correspondence, maps, and plans, among which is a map showing the distribution of the Indian Army as arranged by Lord Kitchener, and another showing his proposed scheme for strategic railways in India.

## RELIGION

THE TEACHING OF THE QUR'ÂN; With an Account of its Growth and a Subject Index. By the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, PH.D., D.D. (London: Central Board of Missions and S.P.C.K.) 1919. 7s. net.

(Reviewed by T. W. ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

For the present generation, the Qur'ân has assumed an importance that it has not perhaps had for several centuries. In estimating its influence, it must be remembered that for a large part of the Muhammadan world, Turkey, Persia, India, the Malay Archipelago, and China, the text of the Qur'ân, being written in Arabic, is unintelligible, and translations have not in former times been looked upon with much favour by the orthodox. During the last century, however, a growing desire for a more intimate acquaintance with the contents of the sacred scripture of their faith has made itself manifest, especially among those Muhammadans who have come under the influence of Western culture and education; and a number of translations in the living speech of those parts of the Muhammadan world, where Arabic is not the language of daily life, have been published in response to this need. Among the Modernists and the more advanced sections of educated Muslim thinkers there is a tendency to reject traditional methods of exegesis and to claim for themselves liberty and interpretation, with a consequent disregard of commentators and a direct reference to the original text.

Some Christian controversialists have been slow to recognize this changed aspect of Muslim theology, but Dr. Weitbrecht Stanton, with his intimate knowledge of living phases of Muhammadan thought, has given it full recognition, and presents in this volume an exposition of the theology of the Qur'ân, as distinct from later comments. "Faced by the life and thought of a new age, Islam is struggling with the difficult task of adjusting its early medievalism to the demands of a modern world. Naturally the tendency of progressive Moslems . . . has been to disown the accretions of their schoolmen, and to recur to the one sacred volume as the sole genuine expression of the faith and practice incumbent on the true Muslim. But, in making this use of an Arabian book of the seventh century, these progressives have claimed, or at least exercised, a great latitude of interpretation, many results of which are highly repugnant to the orthodox. The thoughtful missionary or other Christian will not withhold his sympathy from those who are striving to vindicate a place for a historical form of monotheism in the new thought-world; but in order to form a judgment on their success or failure in so important and difficult an enterprise it is very necessary that he should be able to estimate correctly the actual teaching of the Qur'ân as a whole or in any given part."

Such is the aim of the present work; about half consists of conspectus of the teachings of the Qur'ân under the following main headings: the doctrines of God, revelation, judgment, and salvation, the law of life and the attitude of Islam to other faiths. The exposition is clear and

restrained, and will be of much use to students of Islam and to missionaries. The second half of the book is a subject index of the contents of the Qur'ān, which may prove even more useful to students. But it could with advantage be considerably enlarged, for the value of such an index very much depends on its completeness. As the purpose of the book is stated to be the presentation of the body of moral (as well as the religious) teaching contained in the Qur'ān, the heading *Virtues* might have been largely increased. Several references might be added under the headings *Martyrs*, *Friendship* (only 5, 56, in which friendship with Jews and Christians is forbidden, is quoted, but 4, 143 and 60, 1 also forbid friendship with unbelievers, the verse 5, 85, which speaks of Christians as nearest in affection to believers—given by Dr Stanton under the heading *Christians*—should also be added here), *Parables*, *Refugees*, etc. There might be also a more liberal use of cross references e.g., *Free-will* has a cross-reference to *Deceits*, but none to *Responsibility*. The following headings do not appear at all: Bribery, Controversy, Life, Propaganda, Proselytism, Renegades, Righteousness, Wisdom.

To the bibliography may well be added "Le Koran analysé, par J. La Beaume" (Paris, 1878), which, like Dr R. Young's "Analytical Concordance to the Bible," quotes the verses under each heading in full, and thus the student is saved the time and labour of looking each passage up separately.

REDEMPTION, HINDU AND CHRISTIAN By Dr Cave (Oxford University Press)

This work is one of a series of books which are intended to place within the perspective of the average theological reader a concise study of Indian religions, and to show in what respects they resemble or differ from Christianity. Whether the result of the labours of the authors of the several volumes will be that the cause of Christianity will be advanced in the East it is too early yet to say. But it is unlikely that such treatises will be very effective. For one thing, it is doubtful whether more than a few Hindu religious teachers will read the present volume, and those who do will be unlikely to understand it. The language used is generally far too difficult, and had simpler words and phraseology been employed, there would have been better chance of a wider "public."

The general survey of ancient Hindu religious works in Part I is well, though not too lucidly, expressed. But somehow the exposition seems superficial when compared with the very excellent survey of the teaching, life, and religion of Jesus Christ, which forms the main thread of Part II. Some account of the life of Shri Krishna would have been welcome in Part I, and the concluding chapters of Part II, fail to show what the author set out to do—namely, the features in which Christianity and Hinduism resemble each other. Their differences merely are made apparent.

The author fearlessly shows why Christianity has so far failed to supplant Hinduism to any appreciable extent in India. But we think

that he might have gone even farther. He might, for instance, have shown that Christianity as expounded by Protestant missionaries does not appeal to the imagination of the average Hindu. Indians generally are far more imaginative than are we of the Western world, and the religion which contains a measure of superstition or outward show makes more appeal to them than does any amount of prosaic teaching or preaching. Hence the greater vogue which Roman Catholicism has among Indians of a Christian turn of mind than has Protestantism in its various forms. The Indian sees in the average missionary's life too much of the strife for material comfort. He sees men who, with large families, in their home cares have little time left them for practising the meditative part of a religious life which they imagine to be a necessity for the truly spiritual man. Missionaries in India should be unmarried.

Christianity has not yet developed into a superstition, and for this, doubtless, the spread of education in Europe during the last five hundred years, and the imparting of religious instruction to other than a narrow section of people forming a priestly "caste," are responsible. But while avoiding Scylla we have encountered—and not yet safely passed—Charybdis, for the many sects into which the Church of Christ has been split up has done much to impede the spread of Christianity in India. Hinduism is one and indivisible, and Hindus will not accept, without more convincing proofs of efficacy, a religion which they see has disruptive rather than unifying tendencies.

The analogy between the Tamil proverb and the quotation from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans on page 164 is difficult to follow.

H. W. B.

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A GENTLE CYNIC BEING THE BOOK OF KOHELETH By MORRIS JASTROW, JUN (Lippincott) 1919 Pp. 255

(Reviewed by W. W. CANNON)

Koheleth is the Hebrew name of Ecclesiastes, one of the most perplexing books in the Old Testament. Its difficulty arises from its want of plan and consecutive thought, its abrupt and gnomic method of expression, its obscurities and its inconsistencies. In fact, some Jewish Rabbis wished to exclude it from the Canon because of its contradictory sayings (Tract Shabbath, 2). Professor Jastrow thinks that the difficulty of interpretation is owing to the fact that the original work was heavily interpolated, and seeks in this book to edit the real core of the work stripped of the additions inserted by (a) the *pious* commentator who inserted matter to make it look orthodox, (b) the *maxim* commentator who introduced proverbs and saws, (c) a third commentator, or perhaps more than one, who introduced various glosses. This method is not a new one. It has long been felt that the epilogue, c. 12<sup>9-14</sup>, in which Koheleth is spoken of in the third person, is an addition to the original book, and that a few other lines were doubtful. In 1898 D. C. Siegfried put forth a very elaborate interpolation theory, postulating four interpolators and two editors. After this G. A. Barton

in 1908 seems very moderate. He only requires two interpolators, the *pious* and the *wisdom* commentators. Of course, these three schemes differ in results, such schemes always do. If we had space we should like to compare them, but we must confine ourselves to one or two places. In c 3<sup>1-8</sup> there is a well-known list of appointed times "A time to be born and a time to die," etc. Jastrow says that twelve out of the fourteen are interpolated by his maxim commentator. Siegfried and Barton assign the whole to the original Koheleth. In 4<sup>17-56</sup> (divine worship and vows) Jastrow and Barton give the whole to Koheleth, Siegfried assigns the whole to interpolators. In the long piece 11-12<sup>6</sup> both Jastrow and Barton assign the whole (including the magnificent parable of old age) to Koheleth, except a gloss or two, Siegfried will not allow him a word of it. These results do not inspire much confidence in the method. We have little doubt that fifty years hence critics will still be discussing as to which parts are original Koheleth and which are not. It is probable that some matter, including the epilogue, was added to give the book a more religious tone, but we are disposed to lay more weight than Professor Jastrow does (pp 104, 126) on the quality of *inconsistency*, which is apt to mark the writings of discursive thinkers. May not Koheleth, like other gentle cynics in other ages, have lived "a life of doubt diversified by faith"? Anyhow, Professor Jastrow has retained enough of Koheleth to give us a very pleasant book. The general sketch (pp 27-62) of the present position of Old Testament criticism, while it contains some rather doubtful propositions, will give the general reader a very good insight into a complicated and difficult subject. The translation as a whole is very fine, and the exegesis most interesting. An example is 8<sup>10</sup>, where the rendering is really brilliant. "And so I have seen wicked men buried and [people] coming back from the sanctified ground and going about singing their praises in the city where they acted thus—surely this is vanity" (p 228). Perhaps in one or two places the explanation is a little too modern, more in the spirit of Pittsburg than Palestine. It is a little difficult to believe that when Koheleth wrote, "Cast thy bread upon the waters," 11<sup>1</sup>, he was thinking of business ventures in sending out goods on ships, and that when he added, "Divide it up into seven or eight portions" (a very doubtful rendering), he meant, "Do not put all of your investments into one stock, but divide them up into seven or eight companies" (pp 167-8). We have said enough to show how interesting and suggestive this book is. It makes Koheleth a real living man. In the early part of the book he may disguise himself as Solomon, but this mask soon falls off, and we get the philosophy of life as felt by a keen thinker in a decadent age. Professor Jastrow is not, like so many commentators, choked by the weight of his learning. His style is most agreeable and his book is extremely well adapted to the needs of the general reader, while, at the same time, the serious student cannot fail to profit by it. But oh! why is it sent out without an index!

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## INDIA

TO THE NATIONS. By Paul Richard (Madras Ganesh and Co)

THE SEED OF RACE By Sir John Woodroffe (Madras Ganesh and Co)

*Reviewed by* STANLEY RICE, L.C.S. (RETD)

Bacon has said of the philosophers that "they make imaginary laws for imaginary commonwealths, and their discourses are as the stars, which give little light because they are so high." Mr Richard's rhapsody "To the Nations" is of this type. The world was very evil, nation strove against nation and no one was "clean of blood." Civilization, "vain glorious and false," was founded in greed and hypocrisy—the greed of other people's land and the hypocrisy which preaches a crusade to free oppressed nations to those who are themselves oppressors. And then came the Great War—the war of liberation, which shall free all the peoples of the earth, Belgium and Arabia, India and Africa, no less than Serbia and Poland. "The old foundations must be replaced by the foundations of a better and truer civilization." The past belonged to the nations, the future, because of the cleansing of the Great War, shall belong to humanity. For what was the law and what was the ideal of the peoples? A law which taught that what was a shame and an abomination to the individual was the glory and the boast of the nation—an ideal which made a monopoly of liberty, a guarantee of self interest of justice, a tool to serve greed of science. Humanity was a "field for profits," civilization "a mask of fraud." All this will be changed. The greatest country will be that which best serves humanity, for that is the life of the nation. And so the Vision arises of a glorified humanity, the Supreme Deity in the Pantheon before whom the nations, the lesser deities, must bow, to whom Man will owe his first allegiance, "the Divine Being who sleeps in the bosom of men and of nations."

It is a glorious ideal, but it is not a new one, and M. Richard does not give us much in the shape of constructive criticism. Rabindranath Tagore, who appropriately enough has written the preface to the essay, has preached the gospel of humanity in passionate prose. Swinburne has worshipped the same god in ecstatic verse. Alexander I tried in his limited way to put the gospel into practice, and the politicians of to day are attempting to evolve a scheme to the same end.

It is all very beautiful, passionate prose poetry, but it is unsatisfying. The ideal is so far off that, like the stars, it gives little light because it is so high.

Sir John Woodroffe's essay is in quite a different category. The opening pages are a little alarming—an excursion into the mysteries of Hindu philosophy makes one tremble, until it becomes plain that what the author is pleading for is merely recognition of the forces of racial heredity. The Englishman is the product of the English race, the Indian of the Indian. Both are, or should be, what they are by a process of evolution, and therefore it is wrong to try and turn the Indian into a thoroughgoing Westerner, just as it is wrong for the orthodox Hindu to cling to outworn superstitions and to effete practices. But what the

English have done and are still doing is to educate the Indian boy as if he had no past, no country, no history to speak of. He admits that there is much that is good and even essential in the English education. He grants that we have an unsurpassed literature, and that commercial, industrial, and scientific education must be on English lines, but he asks very pertinently why we insist on school hours which are unsuitable to Indian boys, why we consider that buildings of brick, tables, benches, blackboards are indispensable when one can sit under a tree and write on the sand. And the answer is "because it is the European way." "The young Indian has been subjected to such a strong and continuous suggestion of his inferiority that it is a wonder that any spirit of self assertion has at all survived," in such circumstances 'he will, according to every probability, come to depreciate his own people and culture. The Seed of Race, the Sangs kára, cannot develop in such soil. If India is to be true to herself and to her own inherited nature, and if she is nevertheless to take her place in the modern world, she should be taught both her own culture and also English and other Western languages modern science and the rest, and not the latter alone.

There is much in this little essay of sixty four pages with which the student of India cannot but heartily agree. We are perhaps too much taken up with the government, and do not always recognize the supreme importance of the Educational Department. Yet there are many who would gladly see its methods changed and a little more of the racial native element introduced. It is a pity that here and there there are lapses in style and even in grammar. It is irritating to read that the English are 'one of the foremost, if not the foremost, power in the world, when so very little would have made the sentence unobjectionable.

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GREAT GANGA THE GURU By Kavita Kaumudi (*Kegan Paul*) 6s net

Kavita Kaumudi is the "private title conferred upon the author, Elizabeth Arnold, by a saintly pundit of Benares. Bhakur Tagore, the elder brother of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, declares that these poems "are reminiscent of the inspired utterances of our *rishis* of old.

The "conceptions of our India of old are assuredly very like the modern schools known as New Thought or Higher Thought, and all such bodies of thinkers will find much to interest them in this beautifully printed volume, the subtitle of which gives the key to its object that of showing "how a seeker sought the Real

"Is thy soul sick? *Fear nothing* thou canst not pray! But *sit* at least thou canst Sit in the Presence of Him who is Fire sit and fear not seek not to speak, nor to think! But only *be* and—as thou shalt realize thy Oneness with Him the Glorious—then shall the tears of an all great peace and love suffuse thy happy cheeks

"For in that Oneness thou shalt realize that not only has He healed thee, but He has made thee *more His* than thou wert"

What is this but the modern methods of "sitting in the silence" for help and healing?

THE COMING GREAT CHANGE IN EDUCATION By Captain Petaval,  
R.E (ret) (Board of Industries and Commerce Bulletin No 1  
Bangalore City.)

(Reviewed by THE LADY KATHARINE STUART)

Among the many pressing problems which await our attention at the present time, there is one calling for special attention because it is the basis of all national reformation, and that is the special system of education by means of which we hope to see and believe that we shall see physically sound, mentally equipped, spiritually instructed, and hence divinely guided, young people becoming worthy citizens of numberless beautiful and holy cities. In everything, but more especially in dealing with the young, let us have as our ideal, "The utmost for the Highest." Let us be fully persuaded that the goal in view is no less a thing than the creation, by faith in God, of a regenerated and sanctified humanity, inheritors of all things by the "open sesame" of an open mind and all embracing heart, and a hunger and thirst after righteousness, that such individuals constitute nations who shall be in reality a holy people, living in harmony together in their lovely abode, the earth, so enamoured of the Law of Him who made it, that "nothing shall offend them." Is this thing impossible to us?

"Nothing shall be impossible to you"—such is the keynote of Captain Petaval's book, "The Coming Triumph of Christian Civilization." Let us turn, then, from the contemplation of this glowing Mount Everest of an ideal back to the Eiffel Towers, the rolling switchbacks, the harassing restrictions of modern existence, with a new hope, a new zest. The ideal exists, transcending for ever the lesser altitudes of wealth, reputation—yes, even of earthly honour or glory, but "*are your minds set upon righteousness?*" Let us pause and ensure it. Let us cherish the ideal till it becomes an oasis in the mind, a sanctuary in the heart, an eternal incentive to the soul ascending. It is now many years since the author of "The Great Change in Education" first captured the wise with a word, and satisfactorily showed how the adoption of the simplest code of Christian conduct—the ideal of loving service from the very dawn of life—would surely lead us to bring up children, not in dreary barracks under a harassing, cramping régime of countless restrictions and regulations, but in self supporting communities in which labour and play would be a combination called occupation, in which the work would be adapted to the child, not the child sacrificed to the work, in which the lowliest industry with the hands should by no means preclude, as in apostolic precedent, a simultaneous initiation into the deepest mysteries of the Christian faith, work of which the yoke would be easy and the burden light, in which the Fellow worker would be our Divine Guide, in which the pedagogue would have become a lesser foreman of the works, realizing himself as but "a child of larger growth." The transition from a Judaeo, mammon governed semi barbarism to a civilization by love may thus be made almost insensibly. By the creation of numberless agricultural industrial colonies—upon somewhat similar lines to the Bournville, for example—the principle of love as the initiator, promoter, and perfecter

of all enterprise may become a reality, soon even the circumlocution by means of cash may come to be superfluous, and "production for use" or "from everyone according to ability to everyone according to need" be the universally accepted solution of economic distress, but this can best be brought about by the intermediary of an international language like Esperanto, and thereby the love of the Father for every man may find at length a perfect expression and His salvation be seen by the ends of the earth.

### NEAR EAST

FORTY FOUR MONTHS IN GERMANY AND TURKEY. By Har Dayal, M A  
(*P. S King and Son*)

(Reviewed by CAPTAIN P S CANNON, M A)

THE author of this book is, as is explained in the preface, a late active member of the Indian faction most hostile to Great Britain, who has been led by his experience of the Germans and Turks, while visiting Germany and Turkey during the war, to recant his old opinions. These experiences he relates in four sections of the highest interest to all students, not only of the "Nationalist" anti British movements in the Near East, but also of German and Turkish psychology. In the second and fourth sections Mr. Dayal gives us, in no uncertain fashion, his opinion of the Germans and Turks as they appeared to the Orientals of all races who arrived in those countries hoping to find in both German and Turk faithful and useful allies in the struggle against Britain, and who invariably seem to have departed shorn of all their illusions. On the subject of the Turks Mr. Dayal is quite unequivocal, and his words might well be worth studying by those earnest Indian Mussalmans who are so anxious that Turkey should not be ousted from Constantinople. "The Turks he remarks on p. 31, 'are a predatory tribe without culture and political capacity,' and again "History has clearly demonstrated that the Turk has no intellectual potentialities. He is really unfit for leadership of any kind, as a leader is distinguished by his intellectual pre-eminence over his colleagues' (p. 32). He thoroughly castigates the Indian Mussalmans in some pithy sentences. "As the Turks are a barbarous tribe, the Muslims of India make a great mistake in identifying their cause with the fortunes of the Ottomans. If the Muslims of India wish to appear in company with their Hindu brethren on the public platforms of the civilized world, they must first wash their hands clean of Ottomanism in all its shapes and disguises' (pp. 34 and 35). He goes on to say (p. 38) that "it is the fashion of some Muslims to be enthusiastic about everything out of India, and to remain indifferent to the claims and needs of their co-religionists at home. Such an attitude is fostered by the hollow cant of Pan-Islamism. I have been at the heart and centre of Islam, in the innermost court of the shrine of Pan-Islam, and I declare that it is all a fraud and a hoax, designed to impose upon credulous Muslims in distant lands." He concludes with the witty and scathing remark (p. 49), "There is nothing but dirt and dead dogs and scheming rascals in Stamboul."

Mr. Dayal is equally outspoken when he discusses Germany. Moving about as he did among the "conceited Young Turks, fussy Egyptians, acute but pessimistic Persians, nondescript Arabs, handsome Georgians, and others who fancied that the triumph of Germany would redress their wrongs" (p. 55), he soon lost all his illusions on the subject of his hosts. "These Orientals, thus gathered together in Berlin, soon found out that they lived in a society of snobs, bullies, bores, churls, and cads," and were compelled to admit that "the English are at least gentlemen" (p. 58). They complained that they were treated like dogs, as indeed they seem to have been from Mr. Dayal's account of his own personal experiences, and they were miserable and puzzled till they realized that "morally, socially, and politically," the Germans were "in a lower state of development," and that Germany was a "strange and startling mixture of rampant mediaevalism and modern civilization." Mr. Dayal concludes that, as the world in general has realized, the spirit that animated Germany was one of "excessive megalomania" and due to "the delirium of the parvenu."

In his last section, Mr. Dayal describes the "German adventure," how they came as allies and champions of the Oriental nations, until Turkey, Persia, and many others, realized that their only object was to place themselves in the position of rulers. The result was that the Germans (p. 80) failed "not only from the military standpoint, but also in a moral sense. They are now hated and despised wherever they have shown themselves during the war, from Stamboul to Kabul, and from Medina to Teheran. . . . Germany is to day morally bankrupt in Asia."

Space precludes us from any more extracts from this truly admirable little book. But those we have given will have served their purpose if they lead to the reading of the book itself by every reader of the ASIATIC REVIEW who wishes to realize the utter bankruptcy of the much-boasted German diplomacy in the East and the entire failure of the German to understand Oriental psychology, and is willing to see from a new angle the question of Constantinople and the Indian Muslims.

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FROM AN EASTERN EMBASSY    *Memoires of London, Berlin, and the East.*  
 With illustration (*Herbert Jenkins*) 16s net.

In her opening chapter the author, whose picture in Turkish dress adorns the frontispiece of her book (and by which she will be easily recognized by her friends), gives us a vivid description of her life at the Turkish Embassy at Bryanston Square, when Rustem Pasha, by birth an Italian (Count Marini), was Ambassador to the Court of St. James, and her husband his councillor and lifelong friend. Her descriptions of what was going on in the interior of that Embassy, the official dinners prepared by cooks summoned from Paris, the small family dinners, composed of the Ambassador, herself, and her husband, with her little son Lucien, who behaved so well that the Pasha declared "he could have dined with the Queen," are charmingly related. Not less interesting are the records she gives us of the London social life in those days. Purposely and wisely she avoids politics. It was the time when Sultan Abdul Hamid and his predecessor

made it very difficult for his representatives in England and other European courts to remain loyal. As Rustem Pasha was an unmarried old gentleman, the author represented the female element of the Turkish Embassy, and had therefore the entrée at Court and to all the leading houses in England. She gives us interesting touches of well known ladies in high positions, not devoid of wit and sarcasm, of brilliant functions at Devonshire House, Lansdowne House, Ham House, etc., etc. At a party of the well known Baroness de Reuter, in Kensington Palace Gardens, where literature and the arts were fully represented, she describes her meeting with Mascagni and Adelina Patti. The latter her husband had met as a young man when Secretary at the Embassy of St Petersburg, where she had been still the fêted Marquise de Caux. The Czar, who admired her very much, sent her most magnificent furs and jewels, etc., and on more than one occasion spoke of the pleasure it would give him to welcome her at the balls in the Winter Palace, "*quand elle aura quitté la scène*," "*Tempi passati*," indeed!

The author's description of the Private Views of the Royal Academy of the old days, where she met Mr and Mrs Gladstone, Whistler, Mr and Mrs Kendal, in the days when Lord Leighton was President, will be interesting to those who also remember when, among many famous visitors, were the great art patron, the Duc d'Aumale, Lord Northbrook, Lord Lansdowne, and others. Through all these reminiscences there goes an element of occultism which gives a curious air of mystery to the book. Her own long illness, the death of Rustem Pasha, their subsequent transfer to Berlin, were events long foretold to her before they actually happened. And what is more, she herself predicted to her friends on many occasions what the future would hold in store for them.

The chapter devoted to occult experiences plays even a more prominent part in her life in Berlin. She attends spiritualistic séances, which were held in well known houses. There was a clairvoyant at Frau von Moltke's private apartments, where the Kaiser was present. He sat on this occasion in a dimly lit room, when first of all a hymn was chanted. His stern, frowning face looked most protestingly incredulous when a young girl about fifteen, an offshoot of the Manteuffel family, fell into a trance and began to speak. She did not lean back or fall asleep, but sat bolt upright, her large eyes opening to their widest extent. Her voice changed in timbre and became like that of a man. In strident tones she spoke of certain of her ancestors who were to her present in spirit, and who foretold great misfortunes and violent death hanging on the reigning house. It seemed to upset the Kaiser very much, yet he remained for the whole time the girl was in a trance, which lasted forty minutes. Subsequently a command was issued in the daily papers that he forbade any public mention of psychic matters in the press.

Later at Bucharest, she stayed with a lady in waiting of Queen Elizabeth, known as Carmen Sylvia. In her drives round the gay city she dwells on a beautiful Greek church surrounded by a garden with blooming oleander-trees, which had been recently built by a daughter of Musurus Pasha, who had married Prince Brancovan. The Princess was known at

Constantinople as a highly gifted musician, who so delighted the Sultan Abdul Hamid (himself a gifted musician) with her playing that he was ready to give her anything she asked. Eventually this took the form of a gorgeous parure of jewels. Mustapha Bey, who was at the Turkish Legation at Bucharest, was a great admirer of the beloved old Queen, who proved to be a second Florence Nightingale during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. Her motto was "I am not here to judge but to help." The famous Schools for the Blind in Rumania were erected at her instigation. "Ce n'est pas votre couronne que j'aime, ô Madame, mais c'est ton fâme, ô Elizabeth" was significantly written in one of her books by an admirer of hers. After Bucharest she paid a flying visit to Constantinople, from whence she and her son embarked to Beyrut, at which port they took tickets for Chemlan in the Lebanon. There a great disillusionment came over her, and she feels that it would be banishment to live in those far off climes.

Again she is haunted by prophecies and predictions. The last evening of her stay in the Lebanon, which she spends with her friends, she is asked by her hostess to foretell her fortune by cards. She could not refuse, although she felt that she should not do it. When she turns up the cards the verdict was to her hostess "You will very shortly have news of a death which will cause you great grief," and again, "It is not a relation, but somebody very near and dear to your husband." Just before she left the next morning, the author received a telegram of her husband's sudden death. It was he who was the great friend of whom her host and hostess of the previous evening were to be bereaved. Subsequently her only son's premature death was also not without foreboding. Involuntarily we ask ourselves: Why should we see in the future our destiny before it comes about, if we have no power to avert it? Is it not a curtain which is best not lifted?

The author's intention to give the reader the impressions she gathered throughout her interesting life at the various Turkish Embassies which have long since receded into history has been successfully carried out in this fascinating book, which will no doubt attract many readers.

L M R

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RUSSIA IN RULE AND MISRULE. A short history by Brigadier-General C. R. Ballard, C B, C M G, with a foreword by General Sir William Robertson, BT, G C B, K C V O, D S O (*John Murray*)

From the foreword we learn that Brigadier-General Ballard was personally in touch with Russian affairs during 1919. He was thus able to come into contact with some of the chief actors in the Russian drama, and furnishes some useful explanations of the causes of the Revolution. A Russian statesman of the former régime, whose observations are given in full, ascribed the Revolution to a suppressed and disappointed *intelligensia*, but these were joined by a number of impracticable dreamers and youthful and rash university students. "If only one party had grasped the power firmly from the very first the Revolution might have

been a success." An advanced socialist said that the Revolution of the *intelligentsia* had not taken place.

The earlier chapters form a summary of Russian history from *Variag days*. The alphabet of Cyril and Methodius was intended for South Slavs rather than Russians, though it is the general basis of Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian. Temoochun is better known as Genghis Khan. One of the khans said to a missionary: "We Tartars believe there is a God in whom we live and die. . . . He gave you writings which you don't observe; He gave us soothsayers whom we obey, and we live in peace." The outline will suffice for readers unacquainted with Russian history, being based on Ivanov and Kluchevsky, and the inquirer will probably turn to these and other historians. The later chapters relate the revolutionary movement from Radistchev and Novikov (Catherine II) to the murder of Stolypin by the Jew *provocateur* Bagrov, and the abdication of the Czar, the Kerensky and Kornilov incident, and the Bolshevik misrule.

There is evidence that the work has been hastily written, and names are not always to be recognized—e.g., Mephod (Methodius), Shoosky (Shunsky), and Lagarp (Laharpe). The minister Plehve's name is incorrectly given. These, however, do not detract from the value of the history.

F. P. M.

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BOHEMIA: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH By the Count Lutzow, D.Litt.,  
PH.D., with an introduction by President Professor T. G. Masaryk.  
(*Everyman: Dent.*)

The late Count Lutzow, a popular figure in English society, author, diplomatist, soldier, and sportsman, did more than most men to make Bohemia known in England. He used to say that the Czechs had few friends here as they were so little known, but largely through his efforts their number has greatly increased. Besides this sketch, the Count wrote on Bohemian literature, an illustrated work on "hundred towered golden Prague," lectures on the historians of the country, the life of Jan Hus and the subsequent Hussite wars, and translated the "Labyrinth of the World" of J. A. Komensky (Comenius), a kind of "Pilgrim's Progress," but of a more mournful character.

This history furnishes an account of age long struggles and tenacity on the part of one of the most advanced members of the great Slav race against determined Teuton hereditary efforts at supremacy. In the Hussite wars Zizka and Prokop carried the conflict far beyond Bohemia, and earlier than that Premysl Ottakar ruled from the Baltic to the Adriatic, while more than once Poland and Bohemia were under one crown. It seemed as if all was lost in the Thirty Years' War, but revival began in the reign of Joseph II., and for more than a century it has progressed. During the late world conflict the sympathies of the Czechs were with the Allies, whom they aided in every possible way, and President T. G. Masaryk became a chief actor in the drama. Count Lutzow sustained the efforts of his countrymen in Switzerland, where he died. The last words of this volume refer to dark, menacing clouds overhanging Bohemia, and President Masaryk says that these were swept away



in the tempest, while the sun of freedom now shines upon Czechs and Slovaks united. They are fortunate in union under a wise statesman, respected in the Old and New Worlds. The writer has been in the country in stormy times, and rejoices at the happy ending of a reactionary rule.

Messrs. Dent have performed an important service in issuing Count Lützow's story in the *Everyman* series, which brings it within the reach of all. We would like to dwell at length on the links between England and Bohemia, but must refrain, hoping that many readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW who have not done so will take an early opportunity of procuring this fascinating narrative.

F. P. M.

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THE RED INSURRECTION IN FINLAND IN 1918. A study based on documentary evidence. By Henning Söderhjelm. (Translated.) (*Harrison and Sons.*)

For the first five months of 1918 Finland was in the throes of an insurrection. A Red army had taken possession of the southern part of the country, and a White army, with Swedish volunteer assistance and the help of a German relief expedition, captured Helsingfors and inflicted a series of defeats upon the Reds. The author was engaged in official work of liquidating the affairs of the insurrection, and with the help of Senator F. Frey and others was enabled to compile his record.

During a period of twenty years Finland had undergone a transformation. The introduction of manufactures, as in Russia, had unsettled a pastoral and agricultural population, town immigration had created a housing problem, and labour difficulties arose. Cold and adverse climatic conditions have made the Finn a stubborn, rather sullen, primitive individualist: consequently something like a religious appeal is necessary in order to arouse him. The national language movement against the predominance of Swedish and the effort to improve education took this character, and the zeal for the total abstinence cause and co-operation was that of crusaders. Apart from social or economic considerations, the Finns struggled against Russification by means of passive resistance. The older Russian revolutionaries were welcomed and aided, but the aims of Finnish and Russian revolutionaries were divergent. Those of the latter we know, but the former sought what they considered to be their just natural rights. The Finnish Labour Party had not leaders of character and ability, and soon began to look at politics with Russian eyes. Against their will the Finns were drawn into the Russian struggle, since many Russians wished to abolish their state, and a number of Finns caught up the cry against the upper classes, bourgeois, and capitalists. The Revolution of 1917 was hailed with joy, as the Finns saw the prospect of release of some of their own exiles. The worst elements of the Russian garrison, however, started an orgy of terror and assassination, and the Finnish Labour Party did not, and perhaps could not, interfere.

Plainer perhaps than by anything else, the Russian colouring of the Red is shown by the fact that they were entire strangers to such conceptions as law and order. Their whole rule bore the impress of the East,

with contempt of the rights of others, of discipline and self-control . . . The revolution of the Red was as foreign as possible to our character, as it was foreign to any deliberate, carefully planned, coolly carried out revolution

In conclusion, the author claims that the mission of Finland has been to stand as an eastern outpost of Europe, receiving blows intended against Scandinavia. Having beaten down an attack of "the East," Finland aspires to become "a Western culture state and law state." Certainly the country deserves sympathy and goodwill after the troubles narrated by Mr Soderhjelm, but their antagonists and their policy are not as entirely "Eastern" as he describes. F P M

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EUROPE IN THE MELTING-POT By R W Seton Watson, D LITT, Lecturer in East European History, King's College, Editor of *The New Europe* (Macmillan)

The author is widely known as a foremost living authority on the racial and political problems of Central Europe, which he had made his own for many years before the war. In the course of time he found that earlier views had to be modified, since "few countries have ever been more fatal to preconceived notions than the now vanished Hapsburg monarchy." Dr Seton Watson had observed and exposed the policy by which the Magyars maintained their ascendancy in Croatia and Slovakia, and he foresaw that the South Slav question would develop into a wide conflict unless solved by wise statesmanship at Vienna. Instead, however, Vienna was practically forced by Berlin into war upon Serbia. The main theses urged by Dr Seton Watson by voice and pen were (1) necessary dismemberment of Austria Hungary and Turkey to complete Allied victory, (2) more than local importance of the Jugo Slav solution, (3) the vital importance of the Macedonian front. In view of general ignorance on these various burning questions and lack of information in responsible quarters, he and a small group of friends decided to found *The New Europe*. Foreign policy should, he contends, become the vital interest of every English man and woman, and he hopes that the Workers Educational Association will extend such studies among its members.

The chapters are grouped under problems of policy, politics, and war, Russia and the New Europe, and the work starts with the Austro Serbia dispute. It consists largely of articles written at different periods and brought to date, but some solutions have been arranged since it was published. The Turkish question is being settled as we write, but while the "bag and baggage" policy is not to be enforced, American bishops telegraph to the Archbishop of Canterbury that they support the movement to turn the Turks out of Constantinople. There is no longer a question of placing the city under Russia, where there is no Catherine II to be considered. Who in Russia now can be regarded as champion of the Slavs and Orthodoxy, and what has become of the dreams of Kollar and Hemiakov, *inter alios*? Dr. Seton Watson's essay on Pan Slavism will retain its interest, but the reconciliation of Poland and Russia is more remote than ever. The Adriatic settlement is still open. The account of

political gerrymandering in Transylvania by the Magyars is a grim indictment of the oligarchy, who employed similar methods against the Slovaks. Both these long-oppressed peoples are able to work in accord with their brethren of Roumania and Bohemia. In the Banat there are claims of Magyars, Roumanians, Serbs, and Germans (Suabians). The chapter on the evolution of Bulgaria refers to the Pan-Turanian theory of an alliance of Turk, Bulgar, and Magyar against Westernism and Panslavism. For centuries subjugated by the Turks, like Serbia and Greece, the Bulgars, Slavonized Mongols, were lost sight of. Few rulers, according to this account, have been more shamelessly astute than King Ferdinand, now in exile. The account of the Ukraine problem reads like a romance. Memories of the old Cossack chieftains, men of the type of Gogol's Tarass Bulba, who held their own against Moscow and Warsaw, account for the tenacity of the Ukrainians (people of the border) in their struggle for independence of Russia and Poland, with their Uniate Church.

Dr. Seton-Watson acknowledges the help of eminent colleagues in four years of work: Mr. H. Wickham Steed (editor of *The Times*); Mr. A. F. Whyte, M.P.; Dr. R. M. Burrows (Principal of King's College), whose prolonged illness calls for our sympathy and best hopes for speedy restoration; and President T. G. Masaryk. His opinion of those largely responsible for direction of foreign politics in the past may be gathered from these words:

The Great War is in itself a hideous revelation of the futility and artificiality of the purely diplomatic peaces and compromises of the last century. . . . At the future Congress history and philosophy must be the handmaids of diplomacy.

F. P. M.

## CURRENT PERIODICALS

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER has written a very interesting article on the Japanese-Chinese question for *The New China Review*, in which he enters very thoroughly into this difficult question, which proved so embarrassing to the statesmen of Versailles. After a sketch of the historical side of the question he proceeds: "It would be a sad spectacle to see unfortunate China, with her high 3,000 years of history recorded almost day by day, her magnificent literature, her capacity for education, religion, industry, and morality—to see all this go under without a friendly effort to save her, to give her yet a chance. In a sense, it may be said that in 1904 Japan saved China from Russia, and China was duly grateful for it; she was even disposed to accept the fraternal guidance of Japan." About the present impasse, he writes that it "is perhaps owing as much to the excessive eagerness of party spirit in Japan as to excessive carelessness and timidity on the part of inexperienced Chinese negotiators. The suggestion made by *The Times* a few months ago that Japan, by a voluntary *beau geste*, might arrange a reasonable settlement direct with China without there being left the slightest feeling of having had to yield to Western pressure, seems very much to the point." The concluding paragraph of his article

is as follows "There is little danger except under extreme provocation of Bolshevik confusion taking root in the practical Chinese mind, though the brutal ruffraff levied by Lenin from among the miners and freebooters of Manchuria show what a peril to Europe larger hordes of disgruntled Chinese might become. The political aims of the steadier element both in North and South China seem to drift more and more towards a federation of states after the American model, for local sentiment in China is strong, and the old idea of having non-provincial civilian officials seems to have gone by the board. The "my country right or wrong" feeling so powerful in the United States takes a reverse direction in China, where the hereditary instinct is rather "myself right or wrong", "my family right or wrong", "my clan, my district, my province, right or wrong". Thus the feeling of national loyalty inherent in the orderly Chinese mind enfeebles itself politically the higher it goes."

Lovers of Indian art will welcome the appearance of a new publication, edited by Mr Ordhendra C Gangoly in Calcutta, entitled *Rupam An Illustrated Quarterly Journal of Oriental Art, Chiefly Indian*. Such a journal makes its appearance at an opportune moment, the death of the *Journal of Indian Art* leaves it without a rival in the field, and other magazines of art that have survived the catastrophe of the war devote but scanty space to the art of India. The first number, issued in January, 1920, contains four articles. I A stone panel, admirably reproduced in heliogravure, with a slim, graceful figure on it, representing, apparently, a prince standing at the door of a shrine—taken from one of the moonlight temples at the Seven Pagodas, near Madras, which are believed to have been carved in the reign of one of the Pallava Princes, in the seventh century A D. II A study of Garuda, the carrier of Vishnu, with a detailed comparison of representations of this king of the birds, in Bengal and Java. III "The continuity of pictorial tradition in the art of India" opens up an investigation of this obscure chapter in Indian art, hitherto so little studied, with a special study of miniatures from the covers of a Buddhist palm leaf manuscript, executed either in Nepal or Behar about 1090. The last article gives a detailed study of one of the artistic motifs, the Kirtimukha ("Glory face"), which is found especially on Saivite temples, but occurs persistently throughout the whole history of Indian art and can be illustrated from buildings in Burma, Java, and Nepal. The plates are of an excellent quality, and will come as a welcome surprise to those who are not acquainted with the progress in book illustration made in India during recent years, the letterpress is of as high an order of excellence as the plates, and the journal has started off with a good exemplification of the aim of the editor to admit only articles containing original matter. The subscription rate is eighteen rupees, but until an agent, to whom subscriptions may be paid, is appointed outside India, there can be but little hope of the extension of the sale in England and America, to say nothing of other countries, such as France, Germany, and Holland, in which there is a growing interest in Indian art.

T. W. A

## NEAR EASTERN NOTES

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

BRIEF as they were, the *Greek Notes* last April aroused considerable interest and some criticism. To those who consider that the lessons to be derived from the Great War have never been more lucidly summarized than by the small band of Greek reconstructionists referred to I have little to say, but will deal with a letter to which an answer has long been due, thus covering points raised by other critics also adverse.

The writer, a well-known Greek, begins by saying that Part I. is "particularly effective,"\* and then ridicules the text upon which it was based by adding—

"The powers of the nebulous world seem for once to have inspired Sir Arthur Conan Doyle with a worthy message."

Is it necessary to say that a knowledge of history and a keen sense of justice prompted the creator of "Sherlock Holmes" to write me the letter from which I quoted words I repeat here, which came as an inspiration to my own soul when the whole horizon was dark and menacing? He wrote:

"I agree with you. Greece should have Constantinople. Her hall-mark is over all the stolen property."

It may be objected that this was merely a harmless jest. That might be were it an isolated case, but the correspondence too often reveals a shallow cynicism and lack of reverence for ideal truths and aims that augurs ill for the future of that Greater Greece, to ensure which so much is at this very moment being risked and sacrificed, for as I write the news-vendors are crying: "Greece goes to war!"

### II. FOUNDATION PRINCIPLES FOR THE FUTURE

"As for Part II.," continues my correspondent, "I appreciate your point of view, which is no doubt correct when based on the facts you have been given; but I cannot refrain from pointing out that the truth has been utterly and completely distorted, . . . and that incomparable harm might be done to the Greek cause, of which you have shown yourself so zealous and devoted a defender, by throwing into prominence questions which I can assure you are entirely fictitious and non-existent!"

Unfortunately, I am rarely "given" facts. Outside of ordinary propaganda, one meets few Greeks who will trouble themselves to further one's desire to befriend the Greek cause. I admired them for this until forced to the conclusion that, though *they love Greece devotedly, the Greeks do not*

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\* See note at end.

*love Greeks* One loves races as one loves individuals, one knows not why, but that love on the part of a foreigner must be very deep rooted to withstand the perpetual assault of Greek against Greek. This unlovely trait, however, may be merely the perversion of the superstition that caused a Greek mother in one of the islands to shrink in terror when I praised her infant, and I had to take back the praise and perform some simple rite of exorcism before she could be comforted.

What are the questions my correspondent calls "fictitious and non-existent?" The only questions raised in Part II are well termed "foundation principles for the future"

(a) That Parliament should only consist of representatives of productive national exertion

(b) The entire community is involved in any desired change

(c) Economic solidarity among nations is the only guarantee of permanent peace

As to the first, surely the day is coming when an enlightened electorate will insist on the democratic control of its interests, no sane individual questions the second, and every hour that passes since the signing of peace reveals the deep truth of the third.

What the writer has in his mind is that the *social question barely exists if at all in Greece*.

On my first visit to the Near East, 1909-1910, I enquired of the British Minister as to the position of the social problem in Greece. He replied that it did not exist in any real sense, so far as he was aware. Others said the same. "Why, then," I asked, "did 10,000 workers come to greet us at Volo?" and "Why, wherever we went, were even women so keen to hear addresses, which only men are supposed to attend, that I myself have been a party to their concealment that they too might listen unseen?" To such questions I could get no satisfactory answers, and am amused, when not pained, to be told that after the lapse of so many stirring years the social question still does not exist in Greece. The statement has become a shibboleth, like the "gentlemanly Turk" and "crafty Greek" traditions, and will be harder to destroy, since it has become an ostrich like attitude of the Greeks themselves, and is tantamount to saying that the Greeks, whom I soon characterized as "the brains of the Near East," are in this respect behind all their neighbours in the Balkans.\*

Later on, the writer says that the Socialist Party is unknown in Greece "except to those who imagine they constitute it," and that he has only 'just' heard of its organ *Erevna*, but has never seen a copy.

I believe it is possible for the writer to have spent years in Oxford, and yet not to know of the review in his own language founded there in 1901. Such defect of knowledge is characteristic of the diplomatic classes almost everywhere, even in England. When I warned Mr. Venizelos of this

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\* "Je me souviens d'avoir entendu que la question sociale n'existe pas en Grèce." *La Grèce Contemporaine*, by I. M. Cossano, East and West, Ltd. 1s. post free.

before his first visit to London, he said he feared I was unjust to my own people. Later, I heard that at one of his first dinners here he was asked by his charming neighbour

"Are the Greeks Christians?"

"Have you not heard of the Greek Orthodox Church?" was the Socratic reply, but his fair questioner insisted

"Yes, yes, of course! You have not answered my question I want to know whether you are Moslems"

Most Greeks in Constantinople, however, know of the founder of Balkan Socialism When on my first visit to that city, I lost myself in the native quarter Knowing no Turkish and barely a word of Greek, I was at a loss, until I noticed Greek names over many of the shops A bright idea struck me Entering one of these shops, and placing my right hand on my breast to indicate myself, I said "Platon Drakoules"

The effect was magical I was instantly surrounded by friends and conducted to Pera Palace Hotel with the greatest courtesy This plan never failed me, and I no longer hesitated to go about alone, as it succeeded with Turkish friends also

The writer further says "The locality in Athens in which the offices of the Greek Labour League are situated is sufficiently indicative of its nature," and having a secretary in "the wilds of America" is found to be "ridiculous."

Just what the writer means I do not know But the same might be said of the People's Palace in Whitechapel, which would hardly serve its purpose were it removed to Mayfair Recognizing as he does a genuine "Labour Movement in the Piræus," one would have thought he would find 40, Rue Piræus as a central spot of Athens most appropriate headquarters, with the Acropolis dominating the horizon, and I fear he may find the existence of an *Erruna* colony near Milwaukee more ridiculous even than a secretary "in the wilds of America" However, he may retort he has only "just" heard of Milwaukee, notwithstanding that Milwaukee is a city with half a million inhabitants

### III THE GREEK LABOUR QUESTION

"To turn to the Greek Labour Question," continues the writer,

"I admit that there has been some unrest in Athens, and this must be attributed to

- (1) Wild spirits infected by European unrest
- (2) Royalist and anti-Venezelist schemes.
- (3) A genuine Labour Movement among the labourers (comparatively few) of the Piræus.

But in a country like Greece where, apart from Athens, Salonika and, to a much lesser degree, Patras and Volo, the whole country is entirely agricultural, composed chiefly of small farmers, how can there be a Labour Question, which is *par excellence* the product of industrial countries?

Even Athens itself, in comparison with European towns, is industrially insignificant, and the interests of a handful of labourers are not going to be promoted at the expense of the discomfort of a whole nation."

The writer has evidently never taken the trouble to read modern works on the Labour Movement, or on Social Science, or if he has done so, he has utterly failed to understand them, as is evidenced by the superficial remarks quoted, which go to show that he has not grasped the elementary facts as to Labour and political change. He is still living in the middle of the last century. His mind is embedded in traditional notions as to the sanctity of institutions, which must remain unalterable in the midst of perpetual change. His ignorance is betrayed by his anxiety to have us conclude that in Greece only a handful of men produce wealth, and that the rest are idle. Agriculturists are not labourers, according to his view, and as in the towns only a handful are labourers, then we must say that, with the exception of that handful, the rest are non producers, and therefore it is not worth while to bother ourselves about the problem of the handful of men who enable all the rest to live!—a *reductio ad absurdum*.

He ignores the fundamental truth of all political thought, that labourers are all those who render service to the community by their exertions, manual or mental!

Does he consider Aristotle ignorant because he laid down the principle that the sole purpose of the State is the well being of its members?

Does he consider that the citizens of Greece or any State enjoy well-being according to the ideal of Aristotle and Plato?

The Parliaments for which he has such a superstitious regard are too often but moribund institutions of a moribund social system, which has lost touch with the true democratic principle underlying the parliamentary idea. When composed mainly of lawyers, landowners, and profiteers, Parliament will have to yield precedence to another form of supreme assembly, more representative of the coming social system, composed of those who are rendering useful service to the community by hand or brain, for the war has given a *coup de grâce* to all institutions whose position in the past was mainly to represent the interests of a favoured, and too often self seeking, minority.

NOTE.—In view of what is taking place, it may be well to reproduce the paragraph referred to, as the suggested trend of events has been literally fulfilled.

The acuteness of the Constantinople problem brings into relief the competence of Hellenism as the key to its solution. The Supreme Council seems to be gradually driven to the conclusion that an end must be put to the Turkish domination in Europe, and that this end can only be fittingly put by the Greek arms—thus avenging in a final battle against the hereditary foe of Hellenism the woes and throes of five centuries.

\* \* \* \* \*

For the moment Greece, in striking self abnegation, forgets all that she is enduring in the expectation of the signal to inaugurate her career of social reconstruction. *Events march so rapidly that the signal may be given before our next issue.*—From "Greek Notes" (now "Near Eastern Notes") ASIATIC REVIEW, April, 1920.





## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME  
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

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CONTENTS *East India Association—Royal Asiatic Society—Royal Society of Arts—  
National Indian Association—Shakespeare Hut*

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THE next meeting of the East India Association will be on July 12, when Mr W H Moreland, C S I, C I E, will read a paper on "The Study of Indian Poverty" Lord Meston will be in the Chair The first paper in the autumn will be read as usual in October, when the Rev T Van der Schuren will lecture on "The Education of Indian Boys belonging to the Better or Upper Class Families" The Proceedings of the East India Association for this issue will be found on pp 395 478

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On the occasion of the opening of the new premises of the Royal Asiatic Society at 74, Grosvenor Street, on March 30, the Chinese Minister, Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, in his inaugural address, entitled "China and Western Education," paid a tribute to the importance of the work on which the Royal Asiatic Society was engaged that of unravelling the tangled threads of the past, and reconstructing its history, religion, language, customs, and buried mountains A long line of scholars had thus interpreted the East to the West, and thereby enabled the West to understand more clearly the needs and aspirations of the East His Excellency made special reference to the movement of sending Chinese Government students to England The first effort was made about forty years ago These were followed by more detachments The most noted among them were Admiral Sir Shan Chen Ping, who is at the head of the Chinese Navy, and Sir Chihcen Lofenglu, who served as English Secretary to Li Hung Chang, and later became Minister to England At present there were about 190 students in this country The Anglo-Chinese Friendship Bureau was rendering most valuable assistance to Chinese students in this country During the war, when there was a shortage of doctors in this country, Chinese medical students, in order to show their gratitude for the education they had received here, stayed behind after they were qualified and served at different hospitals in various posts, ranging from consulting officers, house surgeons, house physicians, and resident medical officers to registrars and

tutors. In some instances they were in charge of military wards. A qualified lady doctor became the school medical officer at Bradford, and three men successively held the post of resident medical officer at the General Post Office, London.

Lord Reay, in his speech, pointed out that the most noteworthy events in connection with Oriental Studies in England that had occurred during the past five years were the opening of the School of Oriental Studies by His Majesty the King in February, 1917, the amalgamation in 1918 of the Society of Biblical Archaeology with the Royal Asiatic Society, and the joint meeting of that Society with the Société Asiatique and the American Oriental Society in 1919. Under its energetic Director, Sir Denison Ross, the School of Oriental Studies had already achieved remarkable success. It was thus only after many years of fruitless agitation that London was placed in possession of a School of Oriental Studies which removed the anomalous situation in which we had been with regard to the training of men who in various capacities would represent us in the East. We had among returned members of the Civil Service all the elements for the personnel of such a school, and had until then not given them an opening for their talents. Now the prospect before us was exhilarating, we had no lack of tents and a wide expanse of research in various directions to cover. The republic of letters did not appeal to popular passions, neither was it plutocratic, but it had its own reward. It contributed to remove prejudices. In the past administrators had found time to investigate problems of philology, ethnology, and archaeology. We might look forward to send out to India young men well equipped to continue these traditions.

A joint meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society and Central Asian Society was held at the School of Oriental Studies on June 8, when Sir Aurel Stein, K C I E, lectured on "A Chinese Expedition Across the Pamirs and Hindukush in A.D. 747". The lecturer, with the aid of a fine selection of lantern slides, entered very thoroughly into the military geography of those regions and paid a tribute to the military genius and the stratagems of the Chinese Commander. It would appear that this campaign was the result of very elaborate preparation. At any rate the problem of supplies must have been studied very carefully before venturing into these inaccessible and barren regions. The undertaking culminated with a great victory, but, as the lecturer pointed out, the results were largely reversed a few years later.

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At a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts on Friday, June 18, a paper was read by Sir Valentine Chirol entitled "The Enduring Power of Hinduism". This lecture was delivered in memory of the late Sir George Birdwood, who in the past contributed a great number of interesting articles to the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. We quote "If East and West can meet, they met in the heart of one who was as passionate and understanding a lover of India as of Britain. Again and again, during the Great War, he loved to dwell on every incident that showed the heart of India to be in unison with that of the whole Empire, and with his special worship of the Rajputs as the incarnation of Indian chivalry. He seemed to identify all India with the

gallant figure of old Sir Pertab Singh, who sought, though he did not find, a hero's death on the stricken fields of France."

The lecturer concluded with the following important statement.

"To those who hoped for a more rapid fusion of Indian and Western ideals, some of the phenomena which have marked the latter day revival of Hinduism have brought grave disappointment, but the inrush of Western influences had, perhaps, been too violent not to provoke a strong reaction. It is easy for us to pass judgment on such institutions as caste and Brahmanical ascendancy, and in a paper read only a few years ago before this Society by Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta we heard very severe condemnation passed upon them by one of the most distinguished pioneers of enlightened Indian Nationalism. But let us not forget that to those institutions India owes the one great element of stability that has enabled her to weather so many tremendous storms without altogether losing the sense of a great underlying unity stronger and more enduring than all the manifold lines of cleavage which have tended from times immemorial to divide her. Hinduism has not only responded for some forty centuries to the social and religious aspirations of a large and highly endowed portion of the human race, almost wholly shut off until modern times from any intimate contact with our own Western world, but it has been the one great force that has preserved the continuity of Indian life. Could it be expected to yield without a struggle to the new forces, however superior we may consider them and however overwhelming they may ultimately prove, which British rule has imported into India during a period of transition more momentous than any other through which she has ever passed, but still very brief when compared with all those other periods of Indian history which have only recently been rescued from the legendary obscurity of still earlier ages?"

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On Tuesday, June 8, the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the National Indian Association was celebrated at 21, Cromwell Road. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., presided. The company present numbered over two hundred. The dominating note that was struck in the speeches proved to be the expression of the hope that the Indian students now in this country would be able, on their return to India, to fill successfully the new posts that were open to them there, and also to assist in the emancipation of Indian women. Mrs. Pennell, a Parsee lady doctor, recounted her experiences in India, and how she hoped that the difficulties in her path would now be removed. Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter pointed out the importance of increasing the number of branches in India, so that the progressive women's movement should be able to spread. Sir Krishna Gupta, K.C.S.I., dwelt on the critical time through which India was now passing and the opportunity for the young men present to prove their worth in administrative posts. Many references were made to Miss Mary Carpenter, of Bristol, whose work was now being admirably carried on by Miss Beck. At the conclusion Mr. M. Banerjee proposed, and Mr. K. K. Chatterjee seconded, on behalf of the Indian students, a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Beck.

Of late the accommodation available at Cromwell Road has been much appreciated by students on their first arrival from India, and an effort is

made to keep them informed of educational, technical, and academical activities in this country.

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There was an interesting gathering at the Y M C A Hut, Gower Street, on June 12, in honour of Dr. Tagore. Mr Ali Khan delighted his audience with the manner in which he was able to adapt Indian words to English music. Mr Roy's Bengali songs and the Bengali National Anthem, sung in English, with words written by his father, were also much appreciated. Mr Shah recited a Sanscrit poem, and Mr Abaris rhapsodized Tagore. A very interesting speech in Urdu was read by one of the students, after which Dr Tagore said a few words to those present. A large number of Indians were in their national dress, and the general effect was thereby made very picturesque.

On July 6 a joint party will be given at Cromwell Road by the Northbrook Society and the National India Association. The "Maharanees of Arakhan" will be performed. It is hoped that an Indian ladies orchestra will be present. Further, in the middle of July it is intended to give a recital of "Post Office." Dr Tagore has promised to be present.

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The "Id' (Idulfitr) was celebrated, as usual, at the Mosque Woking, on June 17.

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#### OBITUARY NOTICE DR BURROWS

THE news that the career and work of the late Principal of King's College have been cut off came as an arresting shock. It is not easy for those who saw him regularly, and knew his mental and physical vigour, to realize that Dr Ronald M. Burrows is no more. To all appearance he had a long tenure of office before him, with opportunities of extension of work for the College. We are led to think of a fine sportsman, who has started on a brilliant race, admired by spectators who predict a glorious win, suddenly compelled to retire from the field through an unsuspected and fatal hindrance.

A special feature of Dr Burrows's work at King's College was encouragement and extension of modern language studies, and the introduction into the curriculum of little known languages—e.g., Polish, Roumanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Modern Greek, of the last of which the Principal was a master. During his term of activity Professor J. Fitzmaurice Kelly was appointed Cervantes Professor of Spanish, Professor George Young is the Camoens Professor of Portuguese, and Sir Bernard Pares occupies the Chair of Russian. There is no professor of Czecho-Slovak, but it will be remembered that during his exile Professor T. G. Masaryk lectured at King's College in connection with the Slavonic School on European political problems, Russian literature, and his native land. Dr Burrows organized a send-off at College when Dr Masaryk left for Prague in triumph, to assume the duties of President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. (The writer had long known the country, and had written and lectured on Bohemia, but it was Dr Burrows who first introduced him to President Masaryk.) The number of public lectures, such as those arranged by the

United Russia Societies Association, and the Anglo-Spanish Society, has increased, and a series of eminent men presided, *inter alios* the Earl of Plymouth, Lord Bryce, and the late Sir D Mackenzie Wallace. Dr Burrows was associated with Dr R W Seton-Watson, the authority on Central Europe, in the work of the *New Europe*. Mention should be made of Sir Israel Gollancz and his work of widening and deepening interest in Shakespeare. On practically every occasion the Principal was on the platform, and made some wise and often witty contribution to the discussion. As an old student at King's College, the writer is convinced that the loss sustained is heavy and irreplaceable, and the burden for Dr. Burrows's successor is far from light.

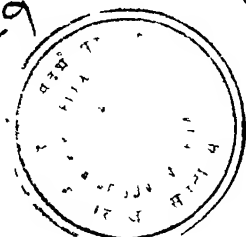
Another side of Dr Burrows's activity was social welfare work at Cardiff and Manchester, in which Mrs Burrows was a great helper. The engrossing duties as Principal in London did not permit of his continuing this work, and consequently many London students were unaware of his record in this direction. He also belonged to the Fabian Society. The educational world is vastly the poorer through the loss of Dr Ronald M Burrows.

FRANCIS P MARCHANT

#### THE CYPRUS DEPUTATION

Dr Lanitis has communicated to us the following "The Cyprus Deputation has returned to London in order to lay before the British Government the reasons for the union of the Island with Greece. We had gone back to Cyprus last December, but meetings which were held there exhorted the deputation to return to England and to interpret to the British Government the anxiety of the people for the union of the country with Greece. The deputation has now submitted a new memorial urging the early solution of the question. What the Cypriots submit is, that four-fifths of the population are Greek, and they are ready to meet the views of the military experts by the cession of some port, in the Island, if necessary, for they fully realize that a strong England means a stronger safeguard for liberty."

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